

Maclean's

THE
TROUBLE WITH
THE SOVIET UNION

THE SEVENTH ANNUAL
MACLEAN'S/DECIMA POLL

A Shaken Nation Bares Its Anger





For all the little things you tote around.

**ISUZU
RODEO**

The sure-footed grip of four-wheel drive. The security of solid construction, and the muscle of a 3.1 litre V6 engine. With plenty of room for kids and cargo. All in a trim, sporty looking package that powers through traffic and into tight parking spots with ease. At Passport, we know what you really want. The Isuzu Rodeo XS, 4 X 4 security that's easy to handle.

PASSPORT
EXPERIENCE AUTOMOBILES

We know what you really want.

Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE JANUARY 7, 1991 VOL 104 NO 1

CONTENTS

2 EDITORIAL

4 LETTERS/PASSAGES

6 OPENING NOTES

Two publishers gamble on *Recessions*; *Rita* challenges a Czechoslovakian show factory; Northern Telecom and the P&G Test; controversy continues to stalk Ciacomati; brewery issues an expensive legacy; longer despise lives a Soviet son; *Leader LaParra* aims to salute Kitch Spence's legacy; *Hopwood* prepares a second fight against the Big Mac.

10 COVER

44 CANADA

The Alberta oil megaproject raises a tale of optimism in hard-poured Newfoundland.

48 WORLD

Saddam Hussein renews his threat to strike against Israel; Salman Rushdie's appeal against his Britain-imposed death sentence fails to elicit forgiveness.

54 BUSINESS

The chief of the CBC discusses his guide after upheaval at Canada's second-largest bank.

56 BUSINESS WATCH/PETER C. NEWMAN

58 PEOPLE

60 SCIENCE

Confirmation of a disputed Canadian scientist's discovery could revolutionize theories about the origin, and fate, of the universe.

65 OBITUARY

Harold Tom, a versatile and controversial artist, dies at 66.

67 BOOKS

Jack Webster chronicles his 72 years in the front line of life.

68 GUEST COLUMN/DALTON CAMP



COVER

A SHAKEN NATION

The seventh annual Maclean's/Decima poll paints an unsettling portrait of a nation that has lost the way. It reveals a massive loss of confidence in politicians and in the political system itself. And it shows that Canadians may now be more ready than ever before to accept fundamental and radical changes in the makeup of their country and its system of government—with or without Quebec. — 10

WORLD

FIGHTING OFF 'DARK FORCES'

Avoid worsening food shortages, ethnic violence and political paralysis, the Russian Republic cut its contribution to the Soviet budget, threatening the nation with economic collapse. And President Mikhail Gorbachev struggled to secure approval of his cabinet for the new post of vice-president. — 48



PEOPLE

LIFE'S HURTFUL LESSONS

American actress Angeline Huxton plays a lonely cow artist in Stephen Frears's new movie, *The Glimmer Man*. Her performance, she says, was influenced by the heartache she experienced during shooting. Huxton and her longtime friend Jack Nicholson were breaking up at the time. — 58

COVER ILLUSTRATION BY DAN HILL/STUDIO D'AMORE

Canadian edition also includes regional index 100

LETTERS

CANADIANS IN THE GULF

I wish to commend Madonna's far from ideal, down-to-earth style of reporting on our Canadian troops serving in the Persian Gulf region. ("The Persian desertion," *Globe*, Dec. 17.) Finally, we are freed about the daily trials and tribulations of our own Canadians and women participating in "Operation Stratos," and not of the politics, military strategies and possible consequences of the American effort. It is good to know that you care about our Canadian Forces.

Peter J. Ruggieri,
St. Catharines, Ont.

I am getting a little sick of reading of the hardships suffered by our Canadian service people in the Gulf. I am in complete agreement with wives, sons and daughters who are waiting for Dad to come home, but if there is a solution for the GULF, should they not be realizing that this is the ultimate job for which a soldier, sailor or airman joins the service? Multiple times someone has said that you will get a fair idea of the war from all the pain suffered by our men and da's when we were out there for close to six long years during the Second World War, when there was shooting and day-to-day death.

Thorne Lohrert,
St. Paul, Que.

EXPLICIT MANIPULATION

When does Madonna get off making a Marxist statement like "these bastards exist in all human beings. I want people to deal with them." ("Justifying the bastards," *People*, Dec. 10.) She was speaking of homosexuality, she directed us women grown-ups and adolescents, and used the magazine to legitimize her explicit video *Judith My Love*. The media are the great legitimizers, whether we like it or not. To allow themselves like these to go unchallenged gives them a credence they do not deserve. To air a video that is obviously designed to market Madonna under the guise of therapy to lower our bastards is only fueling the fools among us. I applaud *MacInnis* and MTV for refusing to show the video and for not allowing themselves to be manipulated by the "material girl."

Roy Dow George,
Brampton, Ont.

CBC CUTBACKS

While it is sad to see the nature of the cutbacks at the CBC ("Cutting the CBC," *Canada/Special Report*, Dec. 17), it is much sadder (and downright frightening) to see the growth in debt created by our federal government in just six years. Ottawa has almost



Volleyball in the Gulf: 'daisy trials'

double its debt to about \$360 billion. Someone, sometime, is going to have to reduce Ottawa's spending to sufficient amounts to start to reduce its debt. That debt is threatening to keep off our nation. That debt, if not checked, soon will cost us as much of our natural resources and the very ownership of

many of our institutions, including the CBC. So, as these cutbacks are, they are just a drop in the bucket of what really has to be done.

G. C. Morris
Hamilton

The reason I refuse publicly named corporations as these institutions are allowed to serve goals that are above the prime goal of private enterprise money. It seems as if Mulroney's government has failed to see beyond the lower goal of profit. It is the job of our governments to continually strive to raise the values of Canadians, not to lower them in the pursuit of the money dollar, as our Prime Minister is doing with cutbacks at the CBC.

Barbara J. Winfield,
Goderich, Ont.

Not too long ago, small Caribbean nations were told to forget the \$500 million they owed Canada. Likewise, several small African nations were also left off the hook for several million each. If our Prime minister and his cabinet what he said when he declared personal support for the CBC, then two debts together would keep the CBC going for another two years.

Alan Raper,
Brigg Creek, Alta.

PASSAGES

APPOINTED: As co-justices, the highest rank of the Office of Canada, Justice Supreme Court chief justice Brian Dickson was, 74, appointed to succeed Sylvia Ostry 62, and actress Martha Henry, 52, by Greg Goss, Business Development, Hamilton, and make the actual presentation. It is a post conferred with the Deacons, known as a barrister who, interpretations of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms formed the precedent, was chief justice from 1984 until he retired last June. Ostry is an attorney who was the Prime Minister's personal representative for the 13rd anniversary. Henry, a stage and film actress, has also been the world's advocate in Canada. Oct 11 Court Chamber since 1989.



MARRIED: Supreme Ties Cruise, 28, and Australian actress Nicole Kidman, 25, his *Dance of the Vampires* co-star. Kidman, who is currently starring *Ally McBeale* with David Wolfman, starred in the Australian 1989 thriller *Dead Calm*. It is her first marriage. Cruise divorced actress Miss Rogers, 35, last January.

DEED: Former American ambassador to the Soviet Union Poy Kubler, 62, who has been in Jupiter, Fla. Kubler had been stationed in Moscow for six weeks when the Cuban missile crisis began in October, 1962. His two-decade diplomatic helped end the affair.

DEWS: Canadian-born Nancy Green, 30, 12 days after her parents were allowed to legally remove her feeding tube, in a Mount Vernon, Mo., hospital. Green had

been a vegetative state for eight years. In June, the United States Supreme Court, composed of Canadian-born Justice, was ruling in the country's *Cruzan* case, a key issue in the debate between right-to-life and right-to-die factions.

WON: The world chess championship, by Armenian Grandmaster, 27, against Russian challenger Anatoly Karpov, 38, in Lyon, France. Karpov retained the title that he has held since 1985 by drawing the 22nd game. The draw means that Karpov has 12 points out of a total of 24 games, compared to an average of 10, which has to be declared the champion.

APPOINTED: Mexican ambassador to Canada Alfredo Phillips, 55, in the ambassadorship in Japan.

LETTERS

THE WAGES OF FREE TRADE

After reading the series of Marlow's articles that begin with "Open borders" (*Business/Special Report*, Dec. 24), it seems that the jury is still out on the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States. The prospect of a similar free trade deal with Mexico also looms on the horizon, and Peter C. Newman's column "Dispute has south of the Rio Grande" (*Business Week*, Dec. 30) only confirms this apprehension. Another view, that of Mexico's opposition leader, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, speaking in Vancouver recently, stated that the United States was bullying Mexico into a bad free trade deal as it was trying to put an end to cheap labor—"just as it did to Canada." Is there a message for our parliamentarians?

Bert Snodgrass,
Barrie, Ont.

The impending free trade deal with Mexico will be an economic catastrophe for Canada. First of all, Canada has not forgotten about the devastation caused by the U.S.-Canadian Free Trade Agreement. Of Canada, Mexico and the United States, Mexico is the least expensive country for a company to operate in, and Canada is the most expensive. As a result,



Mexican protesters: 'Jury is still out'

many Canadian firms—those that can afford to—will relocate south of the American border, in Mexico. How can Canadian industry be expected to lose money here in Canada when they could make a profitable business in Mexico?

Andrew Blackburn,
Belleville, Ont.

NO GERMAN CONNECTION

I agree with you that the sensationalism re-born in Eastern Europe as a result of the Soviet empire's demise is potentially dangerous ("The dangers of sexism," *From the Editor's Desk*, Nov. 26). However, I must strongly object to the just the of the German flag on the Berlin Wall accompanying your remarks and the caption connecting last year's hope for reunification with the people of East Germany with anti-Semitism. The happiness of people separated from their relatives and friends for 45 years at finally being reunited has nothing to do with anti-Semitism or racism of any kind.

Alvin L. van Handel,
Council General of Germany,
Toronto

POTH'S CANINE REPEAT

If Alan Poth's column cannot think of anything more heavily to do on a Sunday afternoon in New York City than sit in a table restaurant gazing on a small dog "The son of a dog," I feel sorry for him ("Poth's results of the X-ray exam," *Calendar*, Dec. 24). But I feel even sadder for his friend.

Jennifer Pothier,
Quebec City

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should specify names, address and telephone number. Also, writers should include the name of the publication, the name of the author, the date of the letter, and the name of the publication. Please send letters to: 177 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5H 1A7.



zero calories—naturally refreshing

The break you savour.





GET IT WHILE IT'S HOT.

Why wait for the news, when you can watch while it happens? Newsworld, Canada's only all news station, covers more events live than any other Canadian network. With complete, comprehensive coverage, and updates

every hour, you're always in tune with the latest from across Canada and around the world. See why more Canadians are turning to Newsworld, Canada's choice for all the action. The hotter it gets, the more we deliver.



Join the world in progress

Canadian
Broadcasting Corporation



LETTERS

A SHOOTING DEBATE

The proposed new gun law, C-46, is typical of a Canadian government that is almost completely out of touch with Canadians ("Up in arms," Law, Dec. 18). In its attempt at popularity, it appeals to vocal and often misguided special interest groups (shootists, anti-hunting groups). How can sport shooters, hunters and gun collectors compete against well-financed and well-publicized special interest groups and vote-grubbing politicians?

Edward Moss,
London, Ont.

Once again, the issue of gun control in Canada has reared its head. With the possible exception of their use by the police and military, I have yet to hear of one logical explanation as to why we need guns at all. Until mass shootings become a thing of the past, we will continue to have unnecessary loss of life.

Richard E. Melanson,
Bridgewater, Ont.

Your article on gun control suggests that the proposed legislation gives hunters and hobbyists cause for concern. Few hunters, hunters and recreational shooters have legitimate reasons to own an A-47. Requiring registration and a photo on the firearms acquisition permit and introducing a 30-day waiting period is hardly going to be an obstacle. In fact, most of the opposition to the bill is opposition to any form of improved gun control, however mild. Proponents are the representatives of physicians, criminologists, police, mental health professionals and members of the public arguing that the bill does not go far enough.

Wendy Cahoon,
Consultant for Gun Control,
Toronto

A POLITICAL PRESCRIPTION

I firmly believe that what Charles Gordon has stated is the only realistic answer to all our political woes ("We elected you, do something," Column, Nov. 26). I agree with every word in his article. Marston would do the country a service by providing a map to every politician in the country.

Andy Gray,
Barnett, Ont.

PUTTING OUT THE FIRE

I find it hard to sympathize with Graham Baker ("The voice of an angry artist," Opening Notes, Dec. 10). There is usually no need for him to be angered by the National Gallery's \$1.8-billion acquisition of *Voices of Fire* by Barnett Newman. It is difficult for the artist-

HOTEL MERIDIEN

CORPORATE CULTURE.

It's the way you choose to do business. And who you do business with.

Others in a kind of quest for efficiency that makes us the most accommodating business hotel in Vancouver.

Le
MERIDIEN
VANCOUVER
TAKING CARE OF BUSINESS



445 Burrard Street in Vancouver

Call your travel agent
or call direct: (604) 681-5500 or
1-800-543-4300

Meridien Hotels and Resorts International is a wholly owned subsidiary of the Hilton Hotels Corporation. Meridien Hotels and Resorts International is a member of the Hilton Hotels Corporation.



Advertising helps make jobs.

CANADIAN ADVERTISING
FOUNDATION

Pointers For Parents

by the *Robert G. Moore, Vice President of Education, SYLVAN LEARNING CENTRE*

An essential ingredient to achieve success in school this year — and throughout a lifetime of continual learning — is reaching the fundamental skill influencing how well the student performs in all subject areas.

Here are tips parents can use this school year to improve their child's reading comprehension.

For Preschoolers:

- Read to your child daily.
- Talk about the pictures in the book, use a variety of words to describe on the text and pictures.
- When you are outside or in the car with your child, point out objects, ask what and people you see. Relate them to what the child has read with you in books.

For School-age Children:

- Continue to read to your child. Perhaps twice a week, sit together

as you read a longer story or novel that contains subject matter appropriate to your child's age but is written beyond his or her reading ability. An example might be a children's classic such as *Little Women* by Louisa May Alcott.

• Check out library books written at your child's reading level. Make reading a habit. Set a good example — be a reader.

• Communicate frequently in schools and at Sylvan Learning Centres. Encourage reading in a fun, relaxed way. All subjects, and good study skills, are a key component in learning.

For help in establishing good reading and study habits for your child, contact the Sylvan Learning Centre nearest you.



Sylvan Learning Centre.

- Brampton 336-1108
- Burlington 336-2820
- Mississauga 604-0111
- North Toronto 494-7025
- Scarborough 294-7025
- Thornhill 764-4284



PARTICIPATION

Put winter on ice. Get on your new backyard rink. Catch up with old friends and meet new ones!

Make your move.

LETTERS

ed to understand the international art market, but we think it's certain Newman's works are a good investment. Baker should be bawling with amazement at the return on the investment.

Michael Johnson,
Stu-Fry, Que.

OTTAWA, AMERICAN STYLE

George Bain is quite right in suggesting that "Canadians should think about how we are going to get a new style of government." Looking south for a little inspiration, "Media Watch, Nov. 30). But his solution to this problem is outrageous. Like so many others, Bain looks to the United States to solve our problems. We have the expertise right here to develop a uniquely Canadian solution to our constitutional and governmental dilemmas. It is not necessary to scrap what we have and wholeheartedly embrace the American system of government.

Arne Martin Mathis,
St. John's, Nfld.

INDEPENDENCE IN UKRAINE

Brave, Ukrainian, for a pretty good assessment of the present situation in Ukraine ("The Ukrainian Factor," World, Dec. 3). Inspired by Rukh and by dozens of other democratic parties, the idea of an independent Ukraine, unfashionable a few years back, led to the declaration of sovereignty and the rejection of a great nation. All that remains is to get the media and well-meaning provocateurs from hard-line Communists and the KGB.

Myroslav J. Nybylowski,
Episkope, Ont.

QUEBEC AND THE SETTING SUN

I had Diane Francis's astute effort as "It is Time for English Canada to speak up" (Column, Dec. 10) published and shared. She knows all the past and in conditions have really changed. I see nothing wrong with efforts to defend French culture. It is about time that Anglo-Quebecers realize that the sun has already set on the British Empire and devoted its efforts to the building of this great country.

Kevin S. McNeil,
Montreal

(Diane Francis's column drew together and expressed my own thoughts of the past year in the future of Canada. I realized that I had stand up to be counted as one very proud Canadian. I feel it offensive in the extreme to have our nation held hostage to the ego and self-serving ideology of Jacques Parizeau.

Stephen J. Tolson,
Richmond, Ont.

Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Publisher JAMES A. MURPHY, 1997

Director of Advertising Sales David A. Larkin

National Sales Manager James A. McKeown

Business Development Manager (Real Estate)

Regional Sales Manager (Life Insurance, Banking, Utilities & More Services) John D. Kelly

Business Manager (Real Estate)

Director of Research (Real Estate)

Director of Advertising (Construction/Real Estate/Real Estate)

Production & Distribution (Real Estate)

Advertising Production Manager James Moore

Assistant Production Manager (Real Estate)

Production Coordinators (Real Estate) (Real Estate)

Customer Service Supervisor (Real Estate)

Maclean's is published weekly by Maclean-Hurton Canadian Publishing

President James A. McKeown

Executive Vice-President (Real Estate)

Vice-President, Distribution (Real Estate)

Maclean-Hurton Limited

Chairman (Real Estate)

President and Chief Executive Officer (Real Estate)

President, Canadian Printing (Real Estate)

Maclean-Hurton Limited

Chairman (Real Estate)

President and Chief Executive Officer (Real Estate)

President, Canadian Printing (Real Estate)

Maclean-Hurton Limited

Chairman (Real Estate)

President and Chief Executive Officer (Real Estate)

President, Canadian Printing (Real Estate)

Maclean-Hurton Limited

Chairman (Real Estate)

President and Chief Executive Officer (Real Estate)

President, Canadian Printing (Real Estate)

Maclean-Hurton Limited

Chairman (Real Estate)

President and Chief Executive Officer (Real Estate)

President, Canadian Printing (Real Estate)

Maclean-Hurton Limited

Chairman (Real Estate)

President and Chief Executive Officer (Real Estate)

President, Canadian Printing (Real Estate)

Maclean-Hurton Limited

Chairman (Real Estate)

President and Chief Executive Officer (Real Estate)

President, Canadian Printing (Real Estate)

Maclean-Hurton Limited

Chairman (Real Estate)

President and Chief Executive Officer (Real Estate)

President, Canadian Printing (Real Estate)

Maclean-Hurton Limited

Chairman (Real Estate)

President and Chief Executive Officer (Real Estate)

President, Canadian Printing (Real Estate)

Maclean-Hurton Limited

Chairman (Real Estate)

President and Chief Executive Officer (Real Estate)

President, Canadian Printing (Real Estate)

Maclean-Hurton Limited

Chairman (Real Estate)

President and Chief Executive Officer (Real Estate)

President, Canadian Printing (Real Estate)

Maclean-Hurton Limited

Chairman (Real Estate)

President and Chief Executive Officer (Real Estate)

President, Canadian Printing (Real Estate)

Maclean-Hurton Limited

Chairman (Real Estate)

President and Chief Executive Officer (Real Estate)

President, Canadian Printing (Real Estate)

Maclean-Hurton Limited

Chairman (Real Estate)

President and Chief Executive Officer (Real Estate)

President, Canadian Printing (Real Estate)

Maclean-Hurton Limited



AUSTRALIA

AN OPEN INVITATION TO BUSINESS PEOPLE

I have successfully built my business in Australia. For as little as \$450,000 capital you may be able to acquire under Australia's very popular and successful Business Migration Program. Australia is poised to capitalize on the huge and expanding markets of South East Asia, a market that is not only seeking new or improved technology and services, raw materials and manufactured goods. Australia is one of the safest countries, our pollution levels are low and the diversity of income offers an excellent future in Australia. For more information please contact Australian Canadian Council, Suite 314, 171 West St. E., Toronto, Ontario, M5T 1B7. TEL: (416) 363-0207/318 (416) 363-3918 (Doreen) FAX: (416) 363-3909 or Australian Canadian Council, World Trade Office Complex, Suite 600-199 Canada Place, Vancouver, B.C. V6C 1A1. TEL: (604) 681-1077 FAX: (604) 684-1856



BUSINESS MIGRATION PROGRAM

AUSTRALIA MEANS BUSINESS.

A SHAKEN NATION BARES ITS ANGER

Canadians are suffering a massive loss of confidence in politicians and in the political system itself

For the first time, Canada has rarely been free of attacks on its unity and political institutions. For a decade after young Confederates in 1871, British Columbia talked frequently of secession. In the late 1930s, Ontario's Oliver Mowat led a successful premier's result that resulted in more powers being transferred to the provinces. Both world wars created bitter tensions between Quebec and the rest of the country over that province's proclivity for opposition to conscription. And between the wars, the absence of a helping hand from Ottawa during the Depression destroyed many Canadians' faith in their country. Accommodation and patience saw Canada through those and many other challenges. But the seventh annual Maclean's/Decima poll shows that those qualities are being tested again to perhaps in unprecedented degree, and the test of endurance is more than ever at danger of snapping.

The country is swamped by a recession, the rift between Quebec and English Canada has not only deepened but is now dangerously and, perhaps most seriously, Canadian as a whole are suffering a massive loss of confidence in politicians and in the political system itself. As a result, according to their sometimes startling responses to the poll, Canadians may now be more ready than ever before to accept fundamental changes in the makeup of the country—yes to the point of instituting a referendum to determine change, with or without Quebec. These mood swings and political

It, it verges on anarchy. Based on the poll's findings, University of Toronto lecturer Michael Bliss said that they were in accord with his own observations. Said Bliss, "I don't think there has ever been such a full severity of anger, disappointment and alienation as you have now."

The poll paints a sobering portrait of a nation that has lost its way. English-Canadians have only grudging tolerance for continued negotiations over the status of Quebec (page 16). As they lose respect for their politicians, people are disavowing more personal influences over critical decisions—such as a significant 57 per cent finding with the idea of dismantling government altogether (page 12). As well, large numbers of respondents, alarmed by the size of their tax bills, want to restrict government's ability to spend (page 18). They are less optimistic than ever before in the history of the Maclean's/Decima poll about their own and the country's economic prospects (page 20). And on a personal level, many of them say that they feel unsafe in the streets of their communities—or even at their own homes (page 20). Said veteran pollster Allen Grigg, president of Toronto-based Decima Research Ltd., which conducted the poll: "Certainly, in the seven years that we have been doing this research, we have never identified a darker mood."

For all that, there are some positive signals. The respondents' support for a new constitutional arrangement developed sharply if the process is allowed to include extensive consultation and public involvement—as the federal government's Citizens' Forum, headed by Kent Soper, has been designed to do. And even a recession has not destroyed Canadians' confidence in their economic future—the lowest level of respondents expressing optimism in seven years of polling is still at nearly 73 per cent. At the same time, although they want to change their political institutions, Canadians do not want to tamper with the constitution clause to house—excepting. In overwhelming numbers, they said that a good relationship with their spouse is still one that survives love, sex—and fidelity (page 40). But having faith in the future of the country is clearly in another category: 57 per cent of respondents acknowledge having at least one strong feeling from a list of eight (page 40).

Said the pollster's vice president, "The prevailing mood is one of dissatisfaction, as Grigg says that it could have three main effects: One is a desire among non-voters to turn to a demagogue to minimize change. Another, said Grigg, is a tendency to look inward. "Faced with the view the



Scenes of chaos in the Senate contributed to serious concerns about how the country is governed

national institutions don't serve the national interest, and public institutions don't serve the public good, people say. To tell with them, I'll pursue my own, individual good," said Grigg. He sees that attitude behind the strong support that emerged in the poll for forcing politicians to pay more attention to the interests of constituents.

But the best outcome, said Grigg, would be a change of systems. Each of the changes placed more trust in non-politicians and made them more accountable to the voters, he said, they might still have appeal. He added: "No incumbent has got any vested interest in either disengagement or secession, and so their best interest is to try to get ahead of this mood by introducing change."

Some contemporary historians say that major changes are long overdue. George Woodcock, for one, says that the four- or five-year Parliament, while acceptable for the slower pace of the Victorian era, now leaves Canadians without an effective voice for far too long. "Some members should exist whereby the people could recall their political rulers or call them to order in a shorter time," said Woodcock, the Vancouver-based writer of *The Cowboy That Made Us and other looks on Canadian history*. "We have got behind into a system that is very rigid and is virtually a four- or five-year dictatorship." According to U of T's Bliss, the battle for change has already begun. "The remarkable force of growing citizen demand for personal autonomy is colliding with the inevitable object of big, stupid government," he said.

Both Woodcock (who has no political allegiance) and Bliss (who calls himself "the last Joe Clark Tory—even Joe Clark isn't sure anyone") also support the vast majority of poll respondents, who favor a referendum in party discipline, throwing men from the party line to vote more in accordance with constituents' wishes. If that means that Canada would pass different kinds of legislation, says Bliss, "well, tough. We would have what the people actually want. The kind of consent that Tories, we

could have capital punishment," reveals a kind of selfish alien that is happening to our country. It is profoundly anti-democratic."

The events of an unusually unsettling year clearly contributed to a widely held feeling that government is not doing its job. After the bitter negotiations surrounding the collapse of the March 1984 negotiations in June, the summer-long armed standoff across the border in October, and the autumn's series of anger and confusion in the Senate, Canadians found themselves officially at a recession. And when the Decima pollsters spoke to 1,500 of them from coast to coast throughout the first week of November, the respondents revealed one unsettling indicator of their growing disenchantment: a diminished pride in their country (pages 10 and 11 in the poll test, page 30). Although 18 per cent of respondents said that they felt more proud to be a Canadian than they did a few years ago, their numbers were overshadowed by half a third of poll participants who said that they had less pride. Respondents from Quebec and Ontario topped those from other regions in feeling less proud, but Quebecers stood out in their unwillingness to call themselves more proud, albeit, appalled. When asked who was responsible for changing their attitude, July 18 per cent cited the federal government.

The last comparable loss of pride may have taken place during the Depression. "What you had then and what you've got now is a feeling that nothing was working, that the system was screwed up, and that the politicians were no good," said author Pierre Berton, whose latest book, *The Great Depression*, is on the best-seller lists. But at least Canadians were not worrying much then about the survival of their nation, he added—"They just assumed it was one, unified country." Now, a nation that has grown up on credit to its middle class even of its toughest politicians and its people are clearly in a mood for politicians without careers.

ROBERT MARSHALL

CANADIANS' DIMINISHING PRIDE

Quebecers, particularly, are losing their feeling for Canada

Q: Do you feel more or less proud to be a Canadian than you did a few years ago?



SEEKING ATTENTION

'Governments cannot govern with this lack of support'

Late last October, Patrick Monaghan gave up believing in the righteousness of the Progressive Conservative party and the effectiveness of Canada's House of Commons. Following in the footsteps of his father, George, who was a Tory MP for 26 years, Monaghan was elected to the Commons from his Nova Scotia home riding of Annapolis Valley-Roads in 1985, at 32. Since then, he has increasingly held the riding through several federal elections.

But in November, Monaghan made what he describes as "one of the toughest decisions of my life." He resigned from the Tory caucus to sit as an independent MP, citing his opposition to the government's failed Meech Lake constitutional policy and several other areas of disagreement. And he told *Maclean's* that he is no longer certain whether Canadians of any political persuasion are properly served by Parliament. He said that the country desperately needs to make its politicians more directly accountable to the people who elect them. Declined Monaghan: "Politicians can lead the force for change—or be swallowed by it."

Monaghan is one of a handful of political outsiders in the Commons—members who have resigned from or been disavowed by their party. Another is Edmonton MP David Kilgour, expelled from the Tory party by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney last April after repeatedly criticizing government policies. Said Kilgour: "I would have been taking my constituents' I don't reflect their anger at some of the things the government has done." But while that status isolates him from many of his former colleagues, their actions are compatible with the expectations of an ever-widening dissatisfied Canadian electorate. Eighty-one per cent of respondents to the seventh annual *Maclean's*/Dorland poll said that politicians should make decisions based on their individual



Mulroney's advisers say that they are responding to the darkening mood

conscience or on petitions sent to them from constituents, rather than simply supporting their parties' positions. Said University of Toronto historian Michael Bliss: "More MPs ought to be like David Kilgour or Pat Monaghan. More may start doing this, if only to save their skins."

But the integrity of many Canadians towards the political process clearly goes far beyond disavowal with parliamentary voting records/questions 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, and 14 to 35 in the poll text, page 33. Fifty-five per cent of poll respondents said that they should be able to recall their MP with a petition at any time—Said respondent Rita Kilgour: "These

people have to learn they just cannot keep ignoring us the way they do now." Kilgour, 30, is a travel consultant and a married mother of a three-year-old son who lives in the Northern Ontario town of Lenoir. She told *Maclean's* in a follow-up interview: "Right now, I feel like no one gives a damn about ordinary people like me."

Other striking signs of discontent: Only 11 per cent of respondents said that they favored the maintenance of the existing system of government. Another 44 per cent said that they wanted a more direct voice in decision-making. And more than a quarter—27 per cent—wished each week they said that they

would have more opportunity to look after their own interests without any government. Dorland respondent Allan Gregg, who has been conducting political polls for 11 years, called those figures "stunning." Added Gregg: "It says that something will have to give, that governments cannot govern with this kind of lack of public support, given the mood that we have today."

In fact, the government appears to be responding to some of those concerns. Its strategy for a new round of constitutional negotia-

individual members to vote according to their conscience. But one source said that the Tories may establish an all-party committee to discuss ways of changing those conventions.

Government sources said that the Tories would also like to have the Commons sit less frequently, which would allow MPs to spend more time in their riding, interacting with constituents. One option could be to have the Commons sit only three days a week, instead of the present five. At the same time, senior Tories are split on the issue of holding nationwide

elections, the Tories, Liberals and the NDP would "all govern pretty much the same."

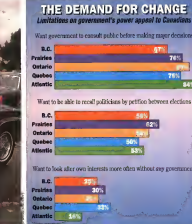
For most respondents, the current manner of governing is unsatisfactory. Sixty-one per cent said that government is less effective than it was five to fifteen years ago, and 60 per cent said that their own politicians are even less effective than they did then. That means, again, analysts may assess from a widespread feeling that present governments lack the will and the resources to help average citizens. "Everybody here looks, you see governments that are cutting services but increasing taxes," said Thomas Gosselin, an economist and the director of the school of policy studies at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont. "There is a sense that governments cost a lot of money, and only serve themselves."

Indeed, as witnesses with *Maclean's*, respondents said analysts often cited both rising tax rates and cost-cutting decisions by the Tories as factors in the decline of faith in government. Among those most often mentioned: the Goods and Services Tax, the 1989 conflict in Viet Nam services, and last month's tax cuts and layoffs at the CBC—a decision that was announced after the poll was conducted in November but was in the headlines at the time of the follow-up interviews. Said Courchesne: "The Liberals cover give a damn about the use of the deficit when they're in power, and that left the Conservatives in a terrible position. But the timing of some of their moves could not have been worse. They close up the tax during a national crisis, and bring in the GST as the crowning of a recession."

At the same time, Canadians' reluctance to rely on politicians may reflect a developing trend in many countries towards greater individualism. *CIBC* said that polls conducted in the United States also show growing frustration with government and a desire to deal independently with problems. Said U of T's Blair: "It is related to people becoming more educated, wealthier and more determined to take control of their lives, and that means that they are saying goodbye to the nanny state." Partly as a result, said a third of respondents said that they would turn to an elected politician for help in solving a problem affecting people in their community. The other two-thirds would prefer to rely on a group of neighbors (25 per cent), their families (28 per cent), a volunteer organization (25 per cent) or a local business leader (seven per cent).

Regionally, those responses sometimes differed markedly. Residents of Quebec are much more likely than other Canadians to depend on either business leaders (13 per cent) or themselves (23 per cent), while in the Prairie provinces there is a higher tendency to depend on neighbors (39 per cent). Reliance on politicians is at its highest in Atlantic Canada (39 per cent) and Ontario (37 per cent).

There were also marked regional variations in levels of concern for the politicians themselves. In Quebec, for example, 60 per cent of respondents said that their own politicians are less effective than they were five to 10 years ago. Quebecers were the most concerned in their assessment. Regionally, 58 per cent said that their own politicians are now less effective.



tion includes the Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future, which is soliciting the opinions of Canadians across the country. As well, Mulroney raised the possibility last month of a referendum on the national unity issue and he talked about shifting more power to the provinces.

Senior government sources also told *Maclean's* that they are discussing further measures to respond to that disturbing public mood. For one thing, they are looking into ways to change existing traditions in the Commons to allow a greater number of "brief" votes. Under the present system, there is too much of a strain to allow government to bring back members from the party line, if major legislation is delayed in the Commons, the ruling party is expected to resign. The only exception was when all parties agree in advance to allow

ple lectures on major issues. Although there is widespread support among voters for the idea, senior Conservatives argue that such a plan would carry enormous potential for division between different regions and language and ethnic groups.

Still, the government clearly faces an uphill battle in winning back the confidence of the voters. Former Mulroney adviser Marcel Gagné, partner at the Montreal-based consulting firm Secor Inc., says that Canadians are "simply turning their backs on politicians." He adds, "The levels of faith and confidence have never been higher." Those comments are reflected in the belief of many respondents that there are no real differences among the three traditional parties. Sixty-one per cent said that despite their professions of having significantly

while 13 per cent said that their opinion is more favorable (compared with 13 per cent last year).

Still, the poll showed a strong sense in all parts of the country that politicians neither know nor care about the concerns of average Canadians. About half of the respondents agreed with the statement: "No federal government elected is ever going to understand and respond to the needs of my region." That figure was highest in Quebec (55 per cent), but otherwise remained fairly consistent across the country. Analysts said that reaction, one plus with the 55 per cent of Canadians who want to be able to recall politicians between elections, illustrates a profound degree of popular disillusionment.

Support for recall is pretty high in the Prairie provinces (62 per cent), where it peaks in Alberta (67 per cent). To David Peterson, a history professor at the University of Quebec, those numbers suggest a feeling of not being represented. "There was a time when we believed that governing the West was strictly a possession of a Liberal government in Ottawa," he said. "Now, Manning has shown it is something they do not."

These numbers are likely to be welcomed by the Alberta-based Reform Party of Canada and its leader, Preston Manning. Many of the poll respondents who participated in follow-up interviews told Manning that they are highly impressed by Manning who supports public consultation and understands its elements of government decision-making. The same group said that none of the leaders of the three current conservative parties meets their needs.

One respondent: 54-year-old toolmaker Nicholas Lutz of Winnipeg, said that he used to support the federal Tories. But he added: "Manning is full of life and so nothing else [Liberal leader Jean Chretien] has turned out to be just another two-faced politician, and I am not impressed by that woman [Joe Leader

Andrew McLaughlin], but that Manning fellow, he seems to care about people."

In fact, many analysts say that the growth in support for regional parties like Reform and



Manning could be benefiting from the mood of alienation

the separatist Bloc Québécois led by former federal cabinet minister Lucien Bouchard, is not a temporary aberration. Said Casseville from Queen's University: "People are sick to death of the established system. That disgust

will not go away." Seventy per cent of poll respondents said that this was not the time to begin new constitutional negotiations (page 18). But Casseville, who has been invited to appear as an expert witness before the Bélanger-Caspeau commission in Quebec's House, said that changes will have to be made soon to the Constitution. He added, "If Canada was that easy to put better aside, the process has to start now."

There are some indications that most Canadians are strongly about the reform of the federal government. Asked if it was more important to have a leader who would look after national interests or one who would "look after your region's interests even if it is not necessarily good for the rest of Canada," 74 per cent of respondents chose a leader with national concerns (see table, below). That figure was lowest in Quebec (63 per cent) and highest in Ontario (84 per cent). Said Gagnon of the Ontario Institute: "Historically, Ontario people think that whatever is good for them is good for the country, and vice versa."

The apparent grass-roots use of opinion favoring a higher national-interest leader is producing changes at local levels. One Quebec Tory MP, Gabriel Fontaine of Léves, says that he accepts the need for change wholeheartedly. He mailed 40,000 copies of a questionnaire on constitutional issues in his constituency in November. Fontaine said that the response he received to the mailing will guide him on how closely to take on Quebec's constitutional future within or outside of Canada. Said Fontaine: "On that something my people must decide." For the other half, eight members of the Tory Alberta riding of Westwinds are there. Says Albert Gagnon, who is not running for the GST: "They still wanted him of 'Telling in his way to adequately represent the majority's views' but not opposing the GST. Early last month, Justice E.A. Marshall of the Alberta Court of Queen's Bench ruled in

Leffebvre's favor, stating that MPs are not legally accountable to their constituents.

At the policy-making level, a spate of new commissions suggests that governments are beginning to take demands for more public consultation seriously. The federal government's Citizens' Forum, headed by former journalist Keith Spicer, is asking the views of people across Canada on the country's future. That work could be finished ahead of the Lake process, in which Manning and the 10 premiers determined the proposed course of constitutional change in closed meetings. As well as Quebec's Bélanger-Caspeau commission, several other provinces have created or made plans for provincial commissions to consult residents on their views on constitutional reform. Said William Ross-Duncan, a University of Manitoba political scientist who is a chairman of that province's commission: "We are all doing now what should have been done during the Meech Lake process."

Still, as governments struggle to change their ways, many of them find that the process of adapting to their new mandates can itself be contentious and controversial. The federal commission's topic quickly became controversial in a controversy when he said his commission would limit its inquiries to Quebec in order to avoid putting itself into conflict with the work of that province's Bélanger-Caspeau commission. Spicer later amended his remarks to say that the commission would go into Quebec, but he was still accused of vagueness. Manning himself drew sharp criticism for his decision not to defend federalism in front of the Quebec commission, which has heard mostly pro-separatist presentations. Officials at the Prime Minister's Office defended his silence by saying that if Manning appeared in front of the commission, he would be expected to appear in front of all of them. Instead, a senior official told Manning, Manning will make many public appearances in different parts of the country in coming months "so that he can discuss directly to the people as a schedule of listening and responding."

At the same time, MPs who attempt to follow the wishes of their voters against their own party have found that they, too, can face difficulties. MPs who oppose positions taken by their party say that colleagues often subject them to harassment, including hostile and derogatory remarks. Said Kilgour: "Experts tell me we have the most rigid styles of maintaining party discipline in the world. The list of the parties in that many politicians in Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union have more freedom to speak their minds than members of a Canadian parliamentary caucus." Before the vote on the GST, party officials told Terry that they would be expelled from the caucus if they voted against the legislation. Kilgour said that a number of other Terry MPs opposed the legislation. But only he and Calgary MP Alex Kibbee acted against the GST—and were rebuffed. For his part, New Democrats say that he looks "battered" now leaving the Terry caucus. He added, "It surely was never meant to be that you should necessarily say yes to marginal thinking or the opinion of

A TAXING TEST OF PATIENCE

With the country officially in a recession, budgetaries soaring and the national Goals and Strategies Task under scrutiny, how much patience will Canadians show when it comes to the GST? The poll asked: "What is the most important issue facing Canada today?" The breakdown: the GST or taxes in general, 23 per cent; the economy, recession, inflation or interest rates, 21 per cent; unemployment, nine per cent; deficit or government spending, six per cent. That was a significant increase from 1988, when 45 per cent

said various economy-related issues. Then, the most pressing single concern was over the environment, cited by 15 per cent of respondents. That issue had been gaining ground in the two previous national polls, but now it has fallen back precipitously, attributed by just one per cent of respondents as their top concern in 1990.

The latest poll also shows that Canadians have shifted their primary focus away from the Free Trade Agreement with the United States. That was the top concern, at 42 per cent, in 1988 when it was a major focus of that day's general election. It fell to just seven per cent in 1989 and has now virtually disappeared as an issue, cited by only two per cent. The question also seemed to control reaction to the 1988 election, when the two issues that emerged as major issues elsewhere in the poll: the leadership provided by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's government (seven per cent) or social and environmental issues (three per cent) topped (see last page). The responses to the top-seven questions are usually fairly accurate

reflections of what's going on in the newspapers," said Dennis Prager, Alex Gagnon, but more important, as a political scientist, he says voters often don't vote on issues that aren't currently in the headlines. Gagnon added: "This was really apparent in the early 1980s, when no one would mention the environment as the most important problem, and it was and directly. 'What about the environment?' they'd say. 'It's the most important by far.'"

Still, the large numbers pointing to economic issues as the major concern reflect an unprecedented level of pessimism about present and national economic prospects based elsewhere in the poll (page 26). Regionally, the responses reinforce frequent complaints from westerners that Ottawa does not represent their interests. Respondents in the Prairies registered the highest concern about the GST and taxes generally (39 per cent) and the deficit and govern-

ment spending (34 per cent). On the other hand, the combined categories of inflation, economy, recession and interest rates attracted the least attention in Alberta (13 per cent) and British Columbia (14 per cent)—two provinces where the local economies are relatively unaffected by the recession.

The lower levels of environmental concerns are particularly noteworthy in light of answers to the Meech/Duncan poll a year ago, when 30 per cent of those surveyed predicted that it would be the number one issue of the 1990s—and when so other single issue rose in the double-digit range. The environment may still be "a bedrock concern" to most Canadians, as John Laing, executive director of the Ottawa-based conservation group the Nature Bank, notes. But the new results do raise doubts about Canadians' willingness to consent resources to cleaning up the environment at a time when the economy is contracting.

REGG W. BYLOR

LEADERS FOR ALL SEASONS

While an overwhelming majority of Canadians agree that the quality of their political representation, there is no clear agreement on the kind of leadership that they actually want (page 26). Respondents to the Manning/Duncan poll were divided over whether it is more important for a leader to be compassionate (56 per cent) or tough (44 per cent); to represent voters' values (57 per cent) or traditional ones (39 per cent); to be a mediator, trying to reconcile conflicting opinions (48 per cent), or as a leader promoting a clear message (51 per cent). And while a substantial majority (83 per cent) said that they now think less of politicians than they did five years ago, a similar majority (80 per cent) said that they would

prefer an experienced politician to a novice. Said pollster Allan Grogan: "Clearly, you could say the polls are conflicted. There is no consensus at all in terms of what kind of leader they are looking for."

The latest opinion poll reflects both the style and the substance of political leaders. Notably, 46 per cent of respondents say that they want someone who is "sensitive to Quebec's interests," while 46 per cent prefer a leader who will "put Quebecers first." In fact, a significant minority of respondents (27 per cent) said that they were looking for a leader who would be tough with the provinces. In the case of Canada, 34 per cent favored the sternest approach in the province, while 43 per cent wanted a more sensitive attitude.

When respondents were asked how a leader should deal with English Canada's interests, 63 per cent favored a "sensitive" approach, while 33 per cent said that English Canada should be "put in its place." In that case, a significant majority of respondents from outside Quebec

(58 per cent) preferred a leader who would take a tough approach to English Canada. That attitude was much more popular in Quebec, where it had the support of 51 per cent of respondents.

In another apparent anomaly, the responses on leadership did not reflect the strong desire to reduce the power of the current government that emerges elsewhere in the poll. Fully 74 per cent said that they would either have a leader look after the national interest this year who would care for their own region's concerns, even if that was not necessarily good for their community. The national-interest answer had its lowest support in Quebec (61 per cent), and as high as in Ontario (84 per cent). While most Canadians appear to have decided that change is essential in the political system, they hardly have fully thought through the leadership question.

A.W.S.

five years in which you keep everything you have done and my task is to keep it. We want constant accountability." Mulroney's Link was one of the majority of respondents who rejected the current system. Said Link: "I have had it with politicians who pretend they care about what we think only at election time. And, at between, believe like we are in a democracy. This is not a democracy. The Link/Duncan poll seems like it is a time for politicians to talk him open up the process and listen more."

ANTHONY WILSON SMITH

THE ANGER GROWS

Irate taxpayers threaten to resort to violence

Divided by constitutional disputes, income disparities and other differences, Canadians approach wariness in an issue—striking taxes that they are taxed too heavily. And some of the more ardent taxpayers say that they are simply not going to take it anymore. Amid the public clamor over the federal government's preparations for the Goods and Services Tax (GST), the Montreal *Desmatin* poll uncovered a vast well of discontent over taxes. Questions 29, 30, 31, 36 and 37 in the poll test, page 32. Fully 55 per cent of respondents said that they were upset to some degree about the amount of tax they pay. And a striking two-thirds of that group said that if the burden gets heavier, they are prepared to express their anger through some level of action—from writing letters and signing petitions to demonstrating or, for a few, even resorting to violence. According to Decima Research Ltd. president Allan Greig, the findings are part of a pattern that emerges from the poll, indicating an overwhelming lack of faith in government. Added Greig, "There is a belief that governments are ineffectively cluttered, inefficient and wasteful."

The car debate clearly focused Canadian attention on taxes and how they are spent. Anti-GST agitators went petitions to 4,400 carriers across Canada, urging them to resist the tax. Chanting, placard-waving car opponents greeted Prime Minister Brian Mulroney at numerous stops when he travelled east and went for a series of public appearances in November. In that atmosphere, the car and taxes in general emerged as the most important of all issues in the survey—a 23 per cent—in this year's poll (page 35). That was in the same range as the recession and the economy in general—and far ahead of the next level of concerns, including the environment, transportation and the quality of government leadership (see chart on p. 30).

Quoted earlier, the respondents showed an eagerness to apply more restrictions to government's freedom to spend tax revenues. While 47 per cent said that they were prepared to lower spending decisions to the government, 32 per cent said that they would rather have a choice to make those choices themselves in the tax forms. And in answer to another question, a soaring 77 per cent said that governments should be prohibited from spending more than they collect in taxes. As a result, according to Greig, Canadians might approve of legislation similar to the Gramm-Rudman Act that the U.S. Congress passed in 1985 to force legislators to balance the budget. One of its co-

authors, Texas Senator Phil Gramm, told *Maclean's* that, although the U.S. budget deficit has not dropped significantly so far, the act at least forces a major debate on spending each year.

In Canada, there is no pressing need for a tax-cutting initiative, says Michael Walker, executive director of the right-of-center Fraser Institute, a Vancouver-based economic research

group. "You have to work for half a year just to pay your taxes and you're not getting anything for it."

S.G. Greig noted that Decima's polling consistently illustrates Ottawa's fiscal dilemma: Canadians claim that they want governments to cut spending sharply, but they also want it to spend more money on some expen-



Demonstrations against the GST took many forms

group that has charted the growth of Canadian tax burdens. According to his organization's calculations, 49.6 per cent of the average Canadian's income was spent on taxes of all types in 1998. And according to Patrick Grady, an economist with the Ottawa-based Centre for Global Economics, Canadian households had an average of \$11,680 more in federal taxes in 1990 than they did in 1984.

The Fraser Institute also predicts that, with the car in effect, the so-called tax freedom day—when the total savings of the average family are enough to pay all of its taxes—will not arrive this year until July 4, four days later than it has been since 1988. If all respondent Germain Levesque, a gold miner from Timmins in northeastern Ontario, for one, said that he would happily join any protest rally against taxes. In an interview with *Maclean's* after

his program, such as health, education and social programs. According to University of Toronto economist John Cuspo, water those conducting protests the government issued a major chance to win voter confidence. Finance Minister Michael Wilson "read the riot act" when he notified the seven fiscal problems facing the country at a national economic conference in 1985, and Cuspo said that the Tories quickly lost their credibility, he said, when they doubled out any pensions, then reversed the policy in response to a huge protest by senior citizens. Since then, Cuspo added, the government has been unable to overcome Canadians that it has a clear strategy on economic issues. Now, the stage appears to be set for a much broader kind of tax revolt.

TOM FENWELL



THIS IS A BOX OF SOLUTIONS

The juice box is a package of environmental solutions.

Reduced waste. A juice box is 97% beverage, only 3% packaging. Let's face it, that's ten times less packaging than glass bottles.

Reduced raw materials. Juice boxes use less raw materials than glass bottles. And 75% of those raw materials come from renewable resources.

Reduced energy. Filled juice boxes are compact and fit together like building blocks with no wasted space, saving energy when storing and shipping them.

Reduced air pollution. Empty juice boxes are light weight and are shipped in compact rolls to food manufacturers for filling. A million empty one-liter packages can be carried in 2 semi-trailers, compared to 30 semi-trailers for that many one-liter glass bottles.

Recycling. Juice boxes are starting to be recycled. Over 500 Canadian schools already have juice box recycling bins. And some municipalities are leading the way by accepting juice boxes in their regular Blue Box programs.

The right choice. Juice boxes

reduce waste, reduce energy use, and conserve resources. They're one of the most healthy and nutritious ways to package liquid food. For these reasons, in 1989, the Institute of Food Technologists named them the most important food science innovation in 50 years.

Juice boxes are an environmental solution. For your family, and for your future.



Good for you.
Good for the earth.

For more facts on juice boxes and the environment, call 1-800-363-2228 or write Tetra Pak Inc., 260 Vandorf Road, Aurora, Ontario L4G 3C8



In Quebec and elsewhere, the clock is ticking towards a profound reordering of the country

A NATION ON THE BRINK

The public is not eager to start rebuilding

On Cape Breton Island, Sydney electronics dealer Stanley Gillis, 38, has a strong prescription for fixing the country's constitutional crisis: "I would like to see Quebec separate once and for all," he said. Malcom's in southern Ontario, Kitchener behavioural consultant Grace Smith, 44, says that she sees "a willingness in English Canada to keep Quebec from separating." But if that promise proves to be empty, she added, there should be "a quiet divorce." In Saskatoon, real estate agent Anthony Thibault, 41, says that he would accept the breakup of the old federal order. "But," he added, "I'm tired of the kind of '91 I would rather have decisions made." All

three respondents to the annual Maclean's/Duncan poll confirmed in follow-up interviews that, although Quebec's departure from Canada has coalesced into a political program only in that province, it is a possibility that Canadians across the land are considering with a new receptivity.

One of those is Jocelyne Lacasse, 40, who teaches economics at a community college in Sherbrooke, Que. It is in that province that demands for the country's constitutional aspects and political leaders to resolve the constitutional impasse once and for all are loudest and most insistent. "This problem has been dragging on for too long already,"

said Lacasse. "We have to settle it."

Still, the poll shows clearly that, despite the necessity of revisiting the country's Constitution, few Canadians anywhere, even in Quebec, are enthusiastic about undertaking the task. Questions 12 to 19 in the poll (see page 30). In every region of the country, a clear majority of respondents (from 63 per cent in Quebec to 77 per cent in Ontario) said that they would prefer to defer any new examinations of the federal blueprint. Most of them said that economic problems were a more pressing concern. But the strongest of the debate may well be out of the complacent majority's hands. The nation's go-

events that will confront Canadians with stark and possibly painful questions about the future of their country.

In Quebec, as this consensus will stand its proposals for a new arrangement between Quebec and the rest of Canada some time in March. Whatever else it proposes, it will almost certainly envisage a much reduced role for the federal government. Quebec's minister of intergovernmental affairs, Gil Rémault, has said that the province may also hold a referendum on independence. By July 1, the federally appointed Commission on Canada's Future must detail its cross-country meetings with the public into recommendations to Parliament. At about the same time, a 13-member special committee of the Senate and Commons is expected to unveil its proposals for a new method of amending the Constitution.

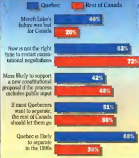
And despite widespread aversion to the subject of constitutional reform, the poll also revealed a broad-based willingness to consider even radical and unprecedented alterations to the national structure. Among the findings:

- When asked to choose among six various constitutional options, only 21 per cent of Canadians selected the status quo.
- In the same question, Quebec respondents' most popular choice (27 per cent) was political independence within a Canadian common market somewhere like the European Community. The top choice among the non-Quebecers (41 per cent) was a reimagined federal system that gave all 10 provinces much more power.
- Seventy-two per cent of respondents in Quebec said that they would support a new constitution that gave only their province special powers. 74 per cent of other Canadians polled rejected that position.
- The willingness of Canadians outside Quebec to reinstate explicitness increased drastically if their province, too, would get any special powers granted to Quebec.
- If a majority of Quebecers do ultimately express a wish to separate, roughly one-half of those polled in both Quebec and elsewhere said that the rest of Canada "should just let them go."

Canadians' apparent distaste for re-examining the constitutional mandate may be grounded in painful recollections of the economy's stagnation in the face of the federal government's record. But, with or without the public's support, the Quebec and federal governments have already set the clock ticking towards a profound reordering of the nation. In Quebec, where

CONSTITUTIONAL DIFFERENCES

Attitudes inside and outside Quebec on the nation's prospects



levels presented to the Dillinger-Campbell commission have been causing overheating in favour of independence, pressure is mounting on the Liberal government to call a referendum on the issue as early as the spring. Parallel commissions announced by several other provinces and by the Assembly of First Nations have added to the momentum towards major constitutional reform.

In Ottawa, meanwhile, advisers to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney are already looking much of their planning for a Conservative

recovery in popularity before the next federal election on an appeal to national unity. According to The Tory's senior independent adviser for the process that led to the March 14th debate will prompt the country's 31 premiers to convene over a new formula for amending the Constitution more easily. While that agreement is based, Mulroney's aides hope that at least the outline of a new nation at blueprint will emerge from the Gouzen's Forum, led by Keith Spicer, who is on leave from his chairmanship of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission. Whether new terms for constitutional peace emerges, Tory strategists concede that they hope to translate it into the dominant theme of a successful election campaign, in the same way that Mulroney campaigned to victory on free trade in 1988.

Indeed, Mulroney returned reportedly to the topic of the Constitution last month in a one-hour address to the Commons. Mulroney continued a new division of federal and provincial powers that might permit the provinces to play a greater role in providing social programs—while Ottawa retained greater responsibility for the same time, Mulroney revealed that he was considering a national referendum as a possible tool for bringing about constitutional change. The Prime Minister also used the issue to reject recently at Liberal London Jean Charest's scornful dismissal of suggesting that federalism be "reborn" and "reimagined" across the country.

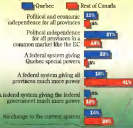
The Conservative agenda will be available for a party with a level of popular support that is

raised below 15 per cent in opinion surveys. Still, the Maclean's/Duncan poll uncovered a new source for optimism among the Prime Minister's advisers. One encouraging sign is the apparent approval for a process involving wide public consultation, like that which the Senate commission would undertake. In fact, the responses indicated that about half of those polled may look favourably on the latest constitutional round.

But the prospects for constitutional agreement remain unclear. For their part, Quebec officials stand on the right to defy any changes to the Constitution. Most other Canadians, however, appear to be unwilling to grant Quebec any powers that other provinces do not share equally. The same quarters of the Commons polled outside Quebec said that they oppose granting that province alone special powers (such as a right, shared by other provinces, to veto

WEIGHING THE OPTIONS

No single choice tops the list here in and out of Quebec



constitutional change). Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells, a staunch critic of the special-status provision for Quebec in the failed Meech Lake accord, shares that opinion. Wells told *Maclean's* that he would like to eliminate the current anomaly provision—which effectively gives all provinces a veto over constitutional change. Still, he added, he would see that existing veto to block any new amending formula that would allow Quebec, but not the other provinces, to preserve its veto. "Alas, lately," declared Wells, "I'd you create a special status for any province, it is only a matter of time until you destroy the federation."

For his part, Saskatchewan's Bels is a reluctant exception to the majority view among

Quebecers (53 per cent) was a federal system in which the province had special powers. Another 18 per cent chose a federal system that gave all 10 provinces more power.

That first-past-the-post choice among Quebecers also attracted the support of more than 40 per cent of Canadians elsewhere, making it the preferred constitutional arrangement in the rest of the country by a large margin. Only about half as many (24 per cent) expressed a preference for the next most popular option: the current system unchanged.

The possibility of reaching a compromise in giving new powers to all provinces is clearly under serious consideration. Chénier, for one, seemed to endorse that route as an appearance

of powers." McKenna also predicted that governments at both levels could achieve substantial savings from an end to what he said is an "immense waste of resources" when federal and provincial governments share responsibilities.

Still, Kitchener poll respondent Heath said that any constitutional settlement that greatly expands the powers of the provinces could badly undermine the federal government. "You put into a situation where you don't have a country," Heath told *Maclean's*. "You have 10 provinces and two territories. I think there is a very real risk of that."

That is an outcome that many Canadians outside Quebec clearly want to avoid. In Alber-



The Meech Lake process created bitterness among leaders, including Mulroney and Wells

reporters in English Canada. "I believe in one rule for all," said the married father of two teenagers. "But I believe, in all fairness, that if Quebec wants to have certain rights, if that's what those people want, we should do it. Let it have them." Despite the widespread opposition, a substantial majority of respondents (58 per cent) said that they would support new powers for Quebec if their own provinces received them, too. That result may point the way to one potential compromise solution—although at a cost of significantly weakening the powers of the central government.

Still, when Canadians were asked to choose which of several possible constitutional reforms they preferred, deep divisions remained between Quebec and the rest of the country. In Quebec, the prospect of having 10 independent provinces as an 11th-state market drew the most support. One respondent who chose that course, Jean Poirier, 24, a Montreal media student, told *Maclean's* that Quebec can only go so far in its own. It needs some ties to the rest of the country. "A close second choice among

before Quebec's Bélanger-Campes convention last month. The Liberal leader called for a "renewed" federalism that would redistribute federal and provincial powers and "ensure sovereignty for every government in its respective jurisdiction." For his part, John McCallum, chairman of the economics department at McMaster's McGill University, said that outcome might provide Canada's one remaining "ray of hope." Added McCallum: "I think there might be a decent chance that Quebec's demands for more power will prove attractive to other provinces, particularly in Western Canada."

Indeed, British Columbia Finance Minister Michelle Courchesne has repeatedly urged Ottawa to hand over more of its responsibilities in such areas as health, education and worker training. "I don't believe what Quebec is talking about is any different from what we're talking about," Courchesne said in an interview. And in New Brunswick, Liberal Premier Frank McKenna told *Maclean's*, "Quebec's demands for sovereignty really describe around relin-

quishing David Berenson, the University of Calgary's dean of graduate studies, said that enacting provincial powers would lead to a "Meech Lake II." Added Berenson: "Quebec, in league with the Prime Minister, is going to try to remake the rest of Canada as their image." He was a proponent, too, of Quebec establishing itself as a separate country if it wishes—and leave federalism intact in the rest of Canada. "I am a contrarian to a Canada that probably would not have Quebec in it," he said. For his part, Preston Manning, leader of the Reform Party of Canada, the fastest growing political party west of Ontario, declared, "The rest of the country has to protect its own vision of Canada—with or without Quebec."

However daunting an internal confrontation it is for many Canadians, the year ahead appears destined to bring them face-to-face with their deepest divisions. It may also force them to examine, perhaps as never before, what lies at the very root of their nation.

CHERYL WOOD with BARRY CAHILL in Montreal

As a Gold Card member your name is sure to appear on at least one annual report.

Each year, just before tax time, the Gold Card® member receives a personal Year-End Summary of Changes. This unique report, exclusively from American Express, provides a complete breakdown by month and category of all Gold Card® transactions in the previous year.

To apply for Gold Card® call 475-3335 (Toronto) or 1-800-263-9335.



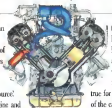
Gold Card
Year-End
Summary
of Changes

If Just A Few Of The New Parts That Went Into Lexus Are Impressive Here, Imagine What They're Like On The Road.

In the creation of the Lexus LS400, an astounding number of new patent applications were filed as a result of the work of 1400 top Toyota engineers over a period of seven years.

It started with a demanding design criterion called 'counter measures at source'.

For example, to lower engine and transmission noise in the cabin, traditional thinking adds more baffles to the cabin walls. But Lexus engineers traced the noise to its source, the vibration caused by the way in which the engine and drive train relate to one another. Then, by optimizing



the relationship of these key parts, they gave the Lexus automobile a quieter ride than virtually any car on the road. The same holds

true for practically every aspect of the car's design. To improve peak engine performance, reducing friction is paramount. But rather than accept existing materials, the Lexus team actually came up with



a new process for micro-finishing internal components. To minimize wind turbulence and improve the directional stability of the automobile, the brains behind Lexus came up with yet another patented idea: airfoils on the suspension system.

These are but a few of the astounding examples of a passionate commitment to perfection. To challenge the legendary European high performance luxury cars, the Lexus

simply had to outperform these lofty feats of automotive design and engineering on all levels.

Not just a few, all.

Patented. On Board Suspension. Active Noise Control. Turbulence.



To see proof of this astounding achievement call 1-800-26-LEXUS for the dealer nearest you. Or visit a place few cars in history would direct you to: The patent office.



LEXUS
The Relentless Pursuit Of Perfection.



TRUSTED SOURCES

Canadians say they have confidence in journalists

I'm surprised that journalists don't spend more time dealing with what's a very fundamental violation of their democratic rights.

—Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, criticism media coverage of Liberal delay tactics in the Senate, Oct. 17, 1990

They're a dirty Eastman-owned paper that swears to be just the poorer down and get the government out.

—B.C. Premier William Vander Zalm, giving his opinion of *The Vancouver Sun*, Sept. 24, 1990

morning, greeting masses of jacks calling themselves investigative journalists.

—Businessman Conrad Black, describing reporters, June 26, 1989



"The electorate is saying, 'On the whole we're happy with the media'."

Clearly, some leading politicians and public figures hold the media in low regard. They frequently claim that reporters and news organizations are often biased, inaccurate, inaccurate, or all three in their coverage of government and political life. But according to the *Maclean's* Decem poll, most Canadians do not share that opinion (questions 20 to 23 in the poll here, page 32). On the contrary, less than a third of the respondents said that Canada's print, radio and television reporters do not do their work accurately (28 per cent)—or that the media confuse members of the public or lies (less than half) people to understand the issues of the day (27 per cent). As well, more than half of the respondents said that journalists are objective in their reporting. The vast news split evenly between the 56 per cent who said they detected a left-wing slant in the media and the same percentage who perceived a right-wing bias. And Prof. Atchuk, a professor of mass communications at Ottawa's Carleton University, "The electorate is saying, 'On the whole, we're happy with the media. We are not totally manipulated by these pet. We're able to distinguish what the media do from what politicians do. That is in the credit of the media—and frankly, I'm surprised.'"

Indeed, many analysts said that they did not

expect such a high approval rating for the media. *Maclean's* Media Watch columnist, George Bass, for one, said that since the 1970s, Canadian reporters have increasingly ignored their own views into stories. He added that most journalists do not bring a ideological bias to their jobs, but he said that reporters are prejudiced against government and the established order because they see themselves as reformers and as "watchdogs of the government." Bass said that anti-government attitude is evident in the coverage of such major government policies as the Goods and Services Tax, which he said is unfairly, and unfairly, referred to as "the dreaded" tax—or by other negative adjectives. Added Bass: "It's very difficult nowadays for a politician in government to get across his or her a position for any policy because of the intrusion of journalists' own interpretations in the reporting. Every report is a crisis, and this is part of the cynicism and disillusionment we're talked so much about."

The poll results, however, show that most Canadians do not blame the media for that cynicism. Almost two-thirds of the respondents—63 per cent—said that journalists report events as they are, compared with 36 per cent who said that the media's tendency to report only bad news has contributed to disillusionment. Canadians view the media as rel-

atively neutral, Atchuk says, because reporters do not "spin," or shape, the news in such as their American counterparts do. Said Atchuk: "U.S. news organizations don't reflect the news as much as they become actors in it."

The poll also revealed that Quebecers are more skeptical of the news media than Canadians in any other part of the country. While about half of the province's respondents said that the media are generally accurate, the rest held the opposite view. That compared with only 27 per cent in Ontario and 18 per cent in the Atlantic provinces who doubted the media's accuracy. As well, French-speaking Canadians were much more likely than English speakers to say that the media confuse more than they clarify events.

According to Atchuk, Quebecers' skepticism news reports is more likely because reporters in the province may be more likely to report political arguments on their terms. He added, "Journalists are part of the intellectual class in Quebec and they don't have that same class of standing outside of events and just reporting as they objectively." If reporters in the rest of the country are increasingly following that tradition, as these and others say, it has done little so far to erode the public's confidence.

PAT KERRIA



Canon color copies are changing the face of business.



In the world of business the old refrain "It's all there in black and white" will soon be heard less and less. That's because more and

more Canadian companies are discovering that demonstrating, motivating and communicating are far more effective with Canon

color copies. The full-color copies that are giving business its most colorful face-lift ever. Find out more by contacting your

nearest Canon copier dealer or call, toll free, 1-800-387-1210

Canon
COLOR LASER COPIER **200**

DIMINISHED EXPECTATIONS

Pessimism reaches a seven-year high in Maclean's polling

They are two working Canadians with opposing viewpoints on Canada's economic prospects. Rodell Truck, a salesman working on commission for a trucking company in southeastern Ontario, says that he is losing faith in his own industry is in chaos. Truck said, because the government deregulated it two years ago and Canadian truckers are finding it increasingly difficult to survive against U.S. competition. "I'd be honest, I'd love to extricate and get out of this industry," he said. "But I'm 38 and I have three children. How am I going to pay my mortgage?" Across the country at 360/61, Mike, Bryan Pegg posed for a long moment when asked why he is optimistic about the future. Then, the 19-year-old apprentice welder, who works in metal machinery, said, "I just see the way the country is going. There are no big problems that I can see." Pegg acknowledged that the current recession is hurting much of the country, but added, "We have been all the time, and we always come through." Mike Pegg, the majority of people surveyed in the seventh annual Maclean's/Dominion poll remain optimistic about their economic future. But this year, more respondents, including Truck, expressed pessimism about their own economic future and the country's—than at any time since the year-end poll began in 2004 (pages 2 to 6 and 9 in poll text, page 32).

The changes from previous Maclean's/Dominion polls have been dramatic. The percentage of people who said they are dissatisfied with their current economic situation has increased by five points, to 51 per cent, since the 1999 poll. And it has almost doubled from its lowest point, in 1994, when just 16 per cent said that they were dissatisfied. The number of respondents who say that they are pessimistic about their economic prospects also increased—to roughly one-fifth this year, from about one in five last year. At the same time, the poll revealed a tendency among Canadians to rely more on themselves, rather than turn-



Despite Wilson's reassurances, many respondents expect a severe recession

ing to government or other institutions to look after their interests. But pessimists feel that the Canadian economy had been contracting for at least six months by the time the poll was conducted in November, some analysts said that those results were reassuring. Said Peter Cook, an economist and senior vice-president of Van City Savings Credit Union in Vancouver. "The only surprise is that even more people aren't dissatisfied this year."

There is no doubting the grim conditions in the land. The country officially entered a recession when it recorded its second consecutive quarter of decline in the gross domestic product in the three months that ended in Sept. 30. Unemployment rose to 9.1 per cent of the workforce as November—the highest level since July, 1967—and the prime interest rate climbed to as high as 14.75 per cent during the summer before easing back slightly. Personal

and business bankruptcies soared while prices in the real estate market tumbled. But Finance Minister Michael Wilson continued to insist that the downturn will not be as bad as in the 1981-1982 recession, when the prime rate hit 22.75 per cent and unemployment soared to 11.8 per cent. During that period, the gross domestic product—the value of goods and services produced in the country—fell by 5.5 percentage points. "Now, all the analysts expect a drop of about one per cent," Wilson said. "It's very different."

Still, economic news dominated when respondents were asked about their current concerns. According to an overwhelming 90 per cent of those surveyed, the recession is not about to disappear in the nearable future. The only debate among low ball it will be. While 64 per cent are expecting it to be mild, another 36 per cent say that it will be severe. Said Michael McNeel, president of the economic forecasting agency Macroeconomix in Ottawa. "When times get tough and people get scared, they turn to the pocket-book issues." And times are tough.

But such an extremely negative attitude, shared by more than one out of three respondents, worries some economists. Raymond Northcote, the Royal Bank of Canada's executive vice-president of economic and corporate affairs, says that if a severe recession is declared as being comparable to the 1981-1982 recession, the worst economic downturn since the Depression of the 1930s, then those pollsters are significantly more pessimistic than the professional forecasters. Said Northcote. "If you look at the 20 or so major Canadian forecasts, you'll find that none of them point towards a severe recession." But the problem, he added, is that gloomy expectations could become a self-fulfilling prophecy, particularly when they spread through the business community. "That mood of pessimism," he explained, "has the potential to change the tempo of recovery and the length of the recession."

Continuing a trend that has been growing in



Canadians' negative attitudes could do more harm to a battered economy

recent years, people seem to be looking to new sources for solutions to their economic problems. Business is in, government is out. Forty-five per cent of those polled said that they look to business to take care of their economic interests, down slightly from 54 per cent a year earlier, but still up considerably from the 32 per cent in 1994, the first year the question was asked. The number who rely on government is now down dramatically, to just 27 per cent, from 49 per cent in 1994. And although just 16 per cent said that they rely on unions, that is the highest level since the creation of the poll in 1994, 10 per cent of respondents said none.

Still, Mike Pegg, president of Deans Research Ltd., said that those findings do not necessarily mean that Canadians have fallen in love with business. Said Pegg. "The question is a little bit like 'What's your favorite food, broccoli, liver or asparagus?' You have to give some answer, and if you listed one event over the last little while, then it's going to get chosen less." In fact, across the country, a significantly larger 18 per cent of the respondents declined to pick any of the three.

When asked just about the performance of the sector they chose as best able to look after their interests, respondents who named government were clearly the least satisfied. Almost half—48 per cent—said that government has done a poor job with only 16 per cent saying that it had done well. On the other hand,

chided residents of Quebec, people who live in large cities, those with annual household incomes of over \$60,000. As well, there was a tendency for those who felt most dissatisfied with their current and future economic prospects to report that they were also a lot less confident about the ability to look after themselves.

HOW SEVERE IS THE RECESSION?

British Columbians and Albertans seem the most optimistic

Q: Would you say the economy is heading into a period of severe recession, mild recession, mild improvement, significant improvement, or is the economy going to stay the same?

	Severe recession	Mild recession	Stay the same	Mild/Significant improvement
NATIONAL	38%	54%	6%	4%
BRITISH COLUMBIA	21	67	9	4
PRAIRIES				
Alberta	28	57	7	5
Saskatchewan	25	62	8	7
Manitoba	32	60	3	7
ONTARIO	41	53	4	3
QUEBEC	40	47	8	5
ATLANTIC				
New Brunswick	36	54	4	3
New Scotia	42	51	6	3
Prince Edward Is.	43	57	0	0
Newfoundland	43	47	9	6

This tendency towards self-reliance is not just a Quebec phenomenon. It is even more clearly evident in the Eastern Bloc provinces that are making to rid themselves of state-controlled economies in favor of the free market. Northcote said that the worldwide trend is driven by people's realization that governments cannot ever manage their own affairs competently, let alone deliver on all-time promises. Declared the OS-economist of the recession. "It is a fundamental sociological change from any previous time, for example, when we really did think that governments could solve problems." The economic developments of the past year clearly do not encourage Canadians to resurrect that attitude from the past.

RENEE DALLGREN

A CUTTHROAT DEAL?

Talks with Mexico complicate Canadian attitudes

Frank Haines is among the two per cent of Canadians surveyed in the Maclean's poll who cited free trade as the country's most important issue. And he opposes it. The 70-year-old retired tool and die maker from Peterborough, Ont., said in a follow-up interview that by signing the Free Trade Agreement with the United States, "the government put the threat of Canadian labor" behind the signed Haines. "We get period like a bonus," Haines, who emigrated from Hungary 35 years ago after spending a year in a Soviet prison camp, said that free trade is part of a plan by a pro-business government to reduce labor costs and increase profits. The country should abandon the second with the United States and not even consider making a similar arrangement with Mexico, he said. Added Haines, "I'm worried for the new generation, not for me."

The free trade agreement has always received a cool reception from Canadians, although they gave Prime Minister Brian Mulroney a clear electoral mandate in 1988 to implement the deal. Now, however, a majority of those surveyed say that Canada should withdraw from the agreement (questions 24 and 25 in the poll text, page 32). Indeed, 53 per cent of the respondents said that Canada should involve a clause in the agreement that would allow Ottawa to abandon the FTA with six months' notice, compared with 40 per cent who preferred to maintain the accord intact.

Opinions on the free trade agreement vary significantly according to demographic and geographic factors. Senior citizens (84 per cent) and those who have not graduated from high school (80 per cent) were more likely to say that they must out of the agreement. Among those more likely to want to keep the deal were respondents with annual household incomes of \$15,800 or more (55 per cent) and those with university education (44 per cent). Respectively, the strongest support for the FTA is in Alberta (51 per cent), British Columbia (47 per cent) and Quebec (44 per cent). Opposition

is strongest in Ontario, where 64 per cent of respondents favored ending the agreement.

The issue becomes more complicated when Canada's anticipated involvement in free trade talks between the United States and Mexico is raised. Presented with four options involving Mexico, the respondents expressing outright opposition to the FTA—and to any negotiations with Mexico—dropped sharply to 33 per cent. Another 31 per cent said that the trade pact with the United States should be suspended for now, singling out while Canada goes ahead with talks with Mexico. Seventeen per cent

even though they say that the actual agreement with the United States should be better. Decima Research Ltd., president Allan Greer, whose firm also polls for the federal Conservatives, says that his Decima's polling consistently shows that while there is broad support in Canada for ensuring a place in the world trading system, many Canadians "find the changes that are necessary very threatening." The more prominent the free trade issue becomes with the Mexico talks, he added, "the more antagonistic the government can expect."

Shirley Carr, president of the Canadian Labour Congress, which wants the government to renew the FTA, said that she is not surprised by the poll's results. "Canadians know that they're paying a very high economic price for this agreement," Carr said. As for negotiating an agreement with Mexico, where workers earn about 60 cents an hour, Carr added, "It's going to make all that stuff at cheap prices, but what happens if there is no oil left with any money to buy it?"

For his part, Gordon Ritchie, one of the senior Canadian officials who negotiated the FTA, says that Canadians do not understand the implications of terminating the accord or negotiating it for a new round of negotiations. The agreement cannot be approved, he said, and the Americans would not react kindly to seeing Canadians reject it. Said Ritchie, "The American protectionists would get a very strong card to play. We would be hurt, there is no question." Still, Ritchie said that he is encouraged by one of the poll's findings. Since dissenting the trade pact, post-signing adjustment period and with a referendum, four out of 10 people still support the FTA, despite the fact that much of Canada's biggest trade advantage—an undervalued Canadian dollar—has been wiped out. Those results are well below the 75 per cent who favored the concept of free trade when Mulroney's first asked the question in the 1985 annual poll. But then, Canadians were far more confident on all fronts half a decade ago.

BRENDA DUNGLISH



Free trade could become a hot election issue again

close to keep the current accord with the United States, but stay out of the Mexican negotiations. Only 15 per cent of respondents favored keeping the FTA intact and negotiating with Mexico—the federal government's preferred option.

Overall, just 33 per cent of respondents—those who chose the last two options—supported the current FTA. But among those 31 per cent preferring to renegotiate the FTA, presumably support free trade in principle,



INTRODUCING A BETTER WAY

Now premeasured in its own Filter Packet! Rich Maxwell House® ground coffee, just drop it in your auto-drip coffee maker.



No more measuring, no more guesswork... just perfect Maxwell House® coffee everytime. New Maxwell House® Filter Packets. A better way to enjoy great coffee.

NEW MAXWELL HOUSE® FILTER PACKETS.

Available in regular and naturally decaffeinated. Huggs Muggs.

*Registered trade mark of Kraft Canada Foods Canada Inc.



Lorrie McClinton has a big dog, bolts her doors and keeps a knife and a baseball bat nearby

HIGH ANXIETIES

Many people no longer feel safe, even at home

Lorrie McClinton's fear began, six years ago, when she was attacked by an intruder at her store's home in Newton, in southwestern British Columbia. She was alone in the house when she answered a knock at the door. A man pushed the door open, grabbed McClinton by the neck and threw her against the wall where the lay strand while he ransacked the house. The incident left an indelible mark on McClinton, now 37, a housekeeper from Surrey, B.C., 40 km south of Vancouver. "I'm scared to death to go by myself," she said in a following interview after taking part in the Marston/DeGruya poll. She lives with her boyfriend and their two-year-old son, she keeps a big dog, has double chains on the doors and locks the windows that with wooden slats. She leaves the lights on when she is sleeping alone, keeps

a phone and a knife nearby and has a baseball bat under the bed. Her boyfriend, she added, has taught her how to break someone's neck. McClinton was among the 63 per cent of respondents who said that they are taking more precautions to ensure their personal safety than they used to. Indeed, the poll discovered alarming levels of anxiety, especially among women—and even among the vast majority of respondents who have never been victims of crime. A quarter of all respondents—and 44 per cent of women—expressed concerns about walking the streets of their own communities at night. Almost half—that 50 per cent of women—said that they would be concerned if they saw a group of young people approaching them (questions 36 to 46 in the poll text, page 33). The results, said pollster Alan Gragg, president of DeGruya Research

Ltd., "suggest that the notion of Canada as a peaceful kingdom applies to history, but not to the chronicles of modern-day times." The poll also revealed signs of an increasing situation in handgun ownership. Six per cent of respondents said that they own such a weapon—still a relatively small figure but statistically significant, says Gragg, because it is double the percentage found in a poll published in the July 5, 1989, issue, when Marston and DeGruya asked the same question. Of the accessories of handguns, 14 per cent—that the same of men than women—said that they would buy one if Canadian law made their purchase easier. The concern about personal safety is most evident in Canada's cities. Six out of 10 residents from communities with a population of 100,000 or more—and eight out of 10 in

Toronto—said that they keep their doors locked at all times, even when they are home. Conversely, six out of 10 respondents from smaller communities said that they do not always lock up.

Toronto is particularly emerged as a focus for growing concerns about personal safety. Respondents all across Ontario were more likely than those in other provinces to be taking more safety precautions (64 per cent, compared with 55 per cent in Quebec and Atlantic Canada and the other extremes). But that figure reached its peak in Toronto, at 71 per cent. And after several years of persistent reports of youth crime and gang activity in Toronto's news media, that city's residents also registered the most negative assessment of young people. Two-thirds of Torontonians said that the behaviour of youths had worsened in the past five years, compared with just under half of respondents nationwide.

According to the federal government's Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, crimes of violence (which include homicide, attempted murder, sexual and other assaults, and robbery) rose to 54,435 in 1989 from 147,558 in 1976, an increase of 69 per cent, while the population went up by just eight per cent. The experts disagree over whether that has grown out of proportion to the actual risk. Toronto police Staff Sgt. John Andrews noted that at least part of the statistical increase is due to the fact that victims report incidents much more readily now than they did a decade ago. Criminologist Paul Bratton of Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C., said that the situation in Canada does not warrant a national mobility. "There does not seem to be a national mobility. It's not as if we have a real, significant and growing crime problem like the United States," said Bratton. "But on the whole, we have a much lower crime rate. It's important to keep that in perspective."

Still, many officials of women's groups say that they cannot allow women's lives to be threatened. "The reality is that 27 per cent of women in Canada can expect to be sexually assaulted in their lives," said Corrie O'Brien, coordinator of the safety initiatives of the Metro Action Committee on Public Violence Against Women and Children in Toronto. "Violence against women is with us wherever we go," she added. And in fact, groups in many Canadian cities are already working on making their cities safer—particularly for women—by better lighting and other measures.

But certainly personal experience alone did not seem to justify some levels of concern registered in the poll. Eighty-two per cent of respondents had never had their homes broken into, and half that group had never even had

a break-in in their neighborhood. Asked if they had ever been mugged or physically assaulted, 59 per cent said no—a response that did not vary significantly between men and women of both county to city. Only four per cent of women reported that they had been physically assaulted, but 17 per cent of them said that they were afraid to be alone at night in the streets of their communities.

As for handguns, federal law restricts their ownership to gun show collectors or people who can establish that they need them for protection, such as jewelry makers or prospectors in remote areas. In a series of follow-up interviews, respondents who acknowledged that they owned handguns said that they had acquired them legitimately for collections. Lee Perna, 42, a retired clothing retailer from Saint John, N.S., owns three handguns as part of a collection, but said that he

if they saw a group of young people in their way, almost on out of 10 high-city residents expressed that fear. Toronto's Staff Sgt. Andrews said that a rash of crimes by teenage people in cities such as Toronto is not isolation that behavior in that group has changed. "Somehow along the line, discipline got lost," said Andrews. "We used to be able to do it with our kids, but now it's the time." But he also noted that possibly more likely to create problems for people in their own age groups than for others.

Follow-up interviews with respondents illustrated a wide range of attitudes toward young people. Marie Norman Brown, 26, who lives in a high-rise apartment in a building in the north end of Halifax, an area with high levels of drug abuse, noise and muggings said that young people have changed for the worse. "They're rougher, they're tougher kids," says

Brown. If she were approached by a group of teenagers at the moment, "I'd go the other way," she declared. "I'd avoid them." But 36-year-old Ellen Lehman expressed a different view. A part-time airport bus driver in Miami, Fla., a former town of 1,700, 50 km south of Edmonton, Lehman noted that just four per cent of respondents who said that young people in their communities were posing much better. "They're growing up a lot quicker today," said Lehman. "A lot of people think society's going down the drain. But as these kids grow up, they have to look after the mistakes they've taken. They're taking more responsibility at a younger age."

Still, Lehman's sunny outlook had few supporters. In fact, nearly four out of 10 respondents were alarmed by young people's behavior that they said there should be security systems or guards on duty in public schools during the school day. Support for that suggestion mirrored a question in Quebec (60 per cent) and in cities with populations of more than one million (62 per cent).

Taking along with other sections of the poll on national unity, the political system, the economy—the questions on personal safety created a dispiriting picture of a nation that sees as values slipping away. See DeGruya's "Gone: There is a sense of losing everything you would count on, the old Canada that Canada is the best country in the world" if that is happening, it is despite experts' insistence that many Canadians' concerns about their personal safety are unfounded. Continued: Simon Fraser's Bratton. "There's a difference between problems and a threat to the country. For many Canadians who feel the world is becoming frightening, it is to know where to draw the line between the two."

FEAR IN THE STREETS

Women, especially, feel threatened when night falls

Q: Generally speaking, are you afraid to walk the streets of your community at night alone?



would never consider using their cell phones. On the other hand, Les Gault, a 43-year-old truck fleet dispatcher from Montreal who owns no handguns, said that he would buy one for personal protection if allowed. "If I needed it badly, I would use it," added Gault, who said that he had been mugged and had his house burgled in the past five years.

Clearly, experiences like that left their mark on Gault and other respondents. Among the 16 per cent who reported having been mugged or physically assaulted, concern for personal safety was significantly higher. While 39 per cent of that group expressed fear of being alone in the streets at night, the number dropped to 24 per cent among those who had not been victimized.

In the poll's two questions about the behavior of young people, community size played a significant role in the response. While 45 per cent of rural residents said that young people were behaving worse than they used to, 34 per cent in the largest cities expressed the same opinion. In rural areas, while four out of 10 respondents said that they would be concerned

SEX, POLITICS AND DREAMS

HOW THE POLL WAS DONE

The weekly column *Maclean's* December poll is based on 1,500 interviews conducted with a representative national sample of Canadian residents 16 years or older in all 10 provinces. Respondents were interviewed by telephone between Nov. 1 and Nov. 6.

The results are presented in percentages of those polled, rounded off to the nearest whole number. (For example, 12 represents the range from 11.5 to 12.4.) Results are considered accurate within a range of 2.6 percentage points, above or below the figures given. 15 times out of 20. The margin for political error is larger for the subgroups cited in some of the articles, such as responses broken down according to province, region, income or age group.

Figures following *Maclean's* represent the percentage of respondents who said they did not know or chose not to answer a question. The figures inside boxes are responses to the same or similar questions published in previous *Maclean's* December year-end or midyear polls.



Maclean's Grage: "we have never identified a blinder model"

1. In your opinion, what is the most important issue facing Canada today—the one about which you, yourself, are most concerned?

Unemployment	25
Economic recession/inflation/balanced trade	21
Environment/Natural Resources	9
Unemployment	9
National unity/Political issues	6
Government leadership/Prime Minister	7
Deficit/Government spending	6
Social and social issues/Crime/Drugs	4
Peace/Gulf/Threat to peace	4
Other issues (total)	3
DK/NA	4

2. How satisfied are you with your personal economic situation right now? Would you say that you are:

	1989	1986	1982	1986	1986	1984
Very dissatisfied	7	6	3	4	6	6
Dissatisfied	34	21	13	17	30	21
Satisfied	61	60	71	64	65	62
Very satisfied	6	11	12	12	9	11

3. Thinking about the future and your personal economic prospects, would you say that you are:

	1989	1986	1987	1986	1985	1984
Very pessimistic	3	3	2	2	2	2
Pessimistic	23	18	11	13	14	17
Optimistic	66	70	76	76	79	71
Very optimistic	7	10	10	10	9	6
DK/NA	2	5	1	0	0	2

4. Who do you look to and/or to look after your economic interests: government, business or union?

	1989	1986	1985	1984
Government	27	25	42	42
Business	45	50	31	30
Unions	18	15	13	14
DK/NA	12	10	14	11

5. And would you say (respondent's choice in question 4) has been doing a very good, good, fair, poor or very poor job looking after your economic interests?

Very poor	7
Poor	11
Fair	33
Good	33
Very good	7
DK/NA	9

6. Compared with a few years ago, are you personally a lot more confident, a lot more confident, no more or less confident, a lot less confident or a lot less confident in your ability to look after your economic interests in your own?

A lot less confident	5
A lot less confident	17
No more or less confident	24
A lot more confident	37
A lot more confident	13

7. If you had a problem in your community that affected a large number of people in your area, whom do you think you would be most likely to turn to for assistance? Would it be:

An elected politician in your area	32
A local business leader	7
A volunteer organization in your area	15
A group of neighbors	25
Yourself	29
DK/NA	1

8. In order to better deal with the new types of issues and concerns facing the country today, in your opinion, should we continue with government the way it is now, should we have government with more power, for people like you to have a direct say in government decisions, or would you prefer to be given the opportunity to look after your own interests more often without say government at all?

Government more or less	11
More direct say in government	60
More opportunity to look after own interests	27
DK/NA	2

9. Right now, would you say that the economy is heading into a period of significant improvement, a low period of mild improvement, or a mild recession or into a severe recession, or is the economy going to stay the same?

	1989
Severe recession	38
Mild recession	44
Stay the same	8
Mild improvement	15
Significant improvement	2



GST protesters: the opposition to taxes is approaching the level of revolt

10. Would you say that you feel much more, somewhat more, no more or less, somewhat less or much less proud to be a Canadian today than you did a few years ago?

Much less	10
Somewhat less	24
Neither more nor less	48
Somewhat more	10
Much more	8

Canada had for Canada, very bad for Canada or make no difference at all in the long run?

Very bad	6
Bad	30
Make no difference	41
Good	32
Very good	6
DK/NA	8

11. (Asked of those who are less or more proud) And who do you think is primarily responsible for making you feel more/less proud to be a Canadian? Is it:

The federal government	53
Your provincial government	9
The business community	6
Unions	2

The behavior of other provincial governments

The behavior of people in your province	14
The behavior of people in other provinces	7
DK/NA	6

12. As you may know, now that the Meech Lake accord has failed, the federal government has established a commission to hold hearings across the country to ask Canadians what kind of constitutional agreement they want. In your opinion, is this the right time to be returning to the constitutional question, or should governments leave the issue alone for a while?

Right time to return to issue	26
Leave issue alone for a while	70
DK/NA	2

14. If a new constitutional proposal to replace the Meech Lake accord were introduced after a process involving extensive consultations and public input—including public hearings in every province—would you personally be much more likely to support the proposal, somewhat more likely to support it, no more or less likely to support it, somewhat less likely to support it or much less likely to support it?

Much less likely	9
Somewhat less likely	9
Neither more nor less likely	31
Somewhat more likely	34
Much more likely	12
DK/NA	6

13. As you probably know, some time ago the Prime Minister and the provincial premiers drafted a constitutional agreement called the Meech Lake accord. The accord was not passed and did not become law. Do you personally believe that the failure of the Meech Lake accord will be very good for Canada, good for



Quebecers tearing a Canadian flag on St-Jean Baptiste Day: a general dissent for resuming constitutional negotiations

15. As you probably know, the government of Quebec has established its own broad-based committee to make recommendations about Quebec's future. Suppose for a moment that the committee recommended that Quebec stay in Canada, but only if it was given a new deal, and special powers that would allow it to make more decisions on its own.

If this happened and the people of Quebec supported the committee's recommendations, would you strongly support, support, oppose or strongly oppose the federal government's opening up negotiations to give Quebec this new deal and special powers?

Strongly oppose	35
Oppose	36
Support	31
Strongly support	6
DK/NA	8

16. What if exactly the same deal and powers were also offered to all provinces equally, including your own. Would you strongly support, support, oppose or strongly oppose the new deal?

Strongly oppose	9
Oppose	20
Support	68
Strongly support	18
DK/NA	5

17. Regardless of what this committee reports, how likely do you think it is that Quebec would choose to separate from Canada since

time in the 1990s—very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely or very unlikely?

Very unlikely	56
Somewhat unlikely	29
Somewhat likely	31
Very likely	14
DK/NA	1

18. If a majority of Quebecers did, indeed, wish to separate, do you think the rest of Canada should do everything it can to convince them to stay, or just let them go?

Do everything to convince	1992
Quebec to stay	47
Just let them go	48
DK/NA	2

19. There has been a lot of discussion recently about Canada's future. Which one of the following options do you personally prefer?

Complete political and economic independence for all 10 provinces	7
Political independence for all 10 provinces in a Canadian common market like the European Economic Community	17
Contacting with a federal system but giving Quebec special powers	6
Contacting with a federal system but giving all 10 provinces much more power	38

Contacting with a federal system but giving the federal government much more power

No change to the current system	21
DK/NA	3

20. How accurate would you say the Canadian media's coverage of events is? Would you say that it is very accurate, somewhat accurate, not very accurate or not accurate at all?

Not accurate at all	4
Not very accurate	24
Somewhat accurate	58
Very accurate	11
DK/NA	2

21. In general, would you say that members of the media report on events from a right-wing bias, from an objective viewpoint or from a left-wing bias?

Left-wing bias	19
Objective viewpoint	53
Right-wing bias	19
DK/NA	9

22. Some people say that the information they receive from the media helps them to understand world events and things happening around them. Others say that this information just confuses them and does not do much to help them understand events. Which one of these two views best represents your own?

Media help you understand events	77
Media confuse you	22
DK/NA	1

23. Some people say that the Canadian media's tendency to report only bad news is responsible for the Canadian public's current mood of cynicism and their lack of faith in government. Other people say that the media are reporting events as they happen and merely reflect rather than shape the public attitude towards government that we see today. Which one of these views is closest to your own?

Media are responsible for cynicism	55
Media are just reporting events	43
DK/NA	2

24. As you probably know, Canada entered into a Free Trade Agreement with the United States almost two years ago. As part of the agreement, either side can get out of the deal with no mutual notice. At this point, do you personally think Canada should use the month clause to get out of the deal?

No	40
Yes	54
DK/NA	6

25. Now, the United States is negotiating a similar free trade agreement with Mexico. Do you think Canada should do:

Get out of our existing agreement with the U.S. and not get involved with the U.S.-Mexico negotiations	35
Keep our agreement with the U.S. but stay out of the U.S.-Mexico negotiations	17

Keep our agreement with the U.S. and enter into the U.S.-Mexico negotiations

Reopen our agreement with the U.S. and negotiate a new one that would include Canada, Mexico and the United States	31
DK/NA	4

26. Thinking of government generally, would you say that in the past five to 10 years, all levels of government in Canada have become much more effective, somewhat more effective, somewhat less effective or much less effective in responding to people's needs, or has there been no real change in the effectiveness of government?

Much less effective	26
Somewhat less effective	38
No real change	26
Somewhat more effective	10
Much more effective	1

27. Would you say that in the past five to 10 years, your impression of politicians has become significantly more favorable, somewhat

more favorable, remained unchanged, become somewhat more unfavorable or become significantly more unfavorable?

Significantly more unfavorable	30
Somewhat more unfavorable	33
Remained unchanged	24
Somewhat more favorable	10
Significantly more favorable	2
DK/NA	1

28. Supporters of the three main political parties say that their party can make a real difference to the type of government we re-

different ways to these test situation. Some people just grumble but, in the end, do not really do much about it. Others write letters and sign petitions to protest. Still others are prepared to take to the streets and even resort to violence to make their anger known. Which one of these three types of people do you think you are most likely to be, if the tax situation should worsen?

Just grumble	52
Write letters	37
Take to the streets	10
DK/NA	1



Malrueny and MP's demands to free politicians from the party line in votes

ceive. Others say that it does not matter which of the main political parties is in power because, in the end, they would all govern pretty much the same. Which one of these three views best represents your own?

Makes a real difference	30
All govern pretty much the same	59
DK/NA	1

29. How do you personally feel about the amount of tax you pay? On a day-to-day basis, would you describe yourself as very upset, somewhat upset, not very upset or not upset at all?

Not upset at all	6
Not very upset	17
Somewhat upset	40
Very upset	36

30. (To those who answered "somewhat upset" or "very upset") Different people react in

31. How are two statements. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each one:

It is impossible for politicians to ever spend taxpayers' dollars wisely	
Strongly disagree	9
Disagree	42
Agree	38
Strongly agree	12
DK/NA	2

As it is now, no federal government elected is ever going to understand and respond to the needs of any region

Strongly disagree	6
Disagree	46
Agree	37
Strongly agree	10
DK/NA	1

32. In the current system, when we elect politicians they stay in power until the next election is called. In your opinion, is this the best way to have things, or would you rather see a system where a majority of voters could sign a petition and remove their elected member any time they wanted?

Politicians in power until election 44
Politicians could be removed by petition 55
DK/NA 1

33. In a parliamentary government, decisions are usually made by a cabinet after discussions among the ministers. In your opinion, which is the best way to make decisions or would you like to see a system where governments are required to hold public consultations and meetings with the public before they are allowed to make major decisions?

Decisions made in cabinet 24
Decisions made after public consultation 77
DK/NA 2

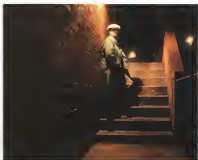
34. Normally, elected politicians vote the party line, that is, the same way the rest of the members of their party are going to vote. In your opinion, is this the best way to have things, or do you think elected politicians should be voting according to their own conscience, regardless of what their party's position is on a particular issue? Or would you like to see a system where, if a majority of voters signed a petition, they could force their member to vote the way the voters wanted on a particular issue?

Politicians vote party line 10
Politicians vote according to their own conscience 49
Politicians need petition 40
DK/NA 1

35. As you probably know, Canadians pay their taxes in a lump sum and then governments decide how this money should be spent. In your opinion, is this the best way to have things, or would you prefer a system where taxpayers indicated right on their tax forms how they wanted their taxes to be spent?

Government decides 47
Taxpayers indicate how they want their taxes to be spent 50
DK/NA 1

36. Government can also decide if it is necessary to spend more money in a given year than it has raised through taxes. Do you think that this is the best way to have things, or do you think governments should be required to spend only as much money as is raised through taxes?



Toronton night scenes, women, particularly, do not feel safe by themselves

Government can decide to spend more than taxes 21
Government required to spend only as much as taxes 77
DK/NA 2

37. Different people have told us that they look for different things in a leader to represent them. What is more important for you, for a leader:

a. to look after your region's interests 34
to look after national interest 74
DK/NA 2

b. to be someone respected in politics, or someone new to politics?

Experienced to politics 68
New to politics 28
DK/NA 4

c. to hold modern values, or to hold traditional values?

Modern values 67
Traditional values 30
DK/NA 4

d. to understand and be sensitive to Quebec's interests, or to be able to put Quebec in its place?

Understand/sensitive to Quebec's interests 49
Put Quebec in its place 46
DK/NA 5

e. to understand and be sensitive to English Canada's interests, or to be able to put English Canada in its place?

Understand/sensitive to English Canada's interests 63
Put English Canada in its place 32
DK/NA 5

f. to be someone with no strong views who tries to reach agreement among people with different views, or someone who is prepared to stick to and fight for their own views?

Tries to reach agreement 48
Stick to/fight for own views 51
DK/NA 1

g. to be tough, or to be compassionate?

Tough 44
Compassionate 50
DK/NA 2

38. Do you keep your doors locked at all times, even when you are at home?

No 47
Yes 53

39. Has your house ever been broken into?

No 62
Yes 16



An ideal relationship is one that is mutually rewarding.

At Mitel, we understand that you rely on us to take care of the tools of communication, so you can concentrate on using them.

AN IDEAL RELATIONSHIP BENEFITS BOTH PARTIES.

It's a philosophy that has won us the highest overall customer satisfaction rating in North America.

It's good business for us. Good business for you.



For more information call
1-800-MITEL-5X

40. (For those who answered No) Do you know of anyone in your neighborhood who has had these laws broken since?

No 48
Yes 51
DK/NA 1

41. Are you personally taking more, the same or fewer precautions to protect your personal and household safety today than you did a few years ago?

More 2
Same 36
Less 62

42. Do you own a handgun?

No	93	97
Yes	6	3
DK/NA	1	0

July, 1989

43. (For those who answered No) If there were no gun laws in Canada, would you get a gun?

No 66
Yes 14

44. Generally speaking, are you afraid to walk the streets of your community at night alone?

No	74	78
Yes	26	24

July, 1989

45. Have you ever been mugged or physically assaulted?

No 90
Yes 10

46. Is your opinion about the behavior of young people in the community you live in because each better or somewhat better, not changed, or become somewhat worse or much worse over the past five years?

Much worse 14
Somewhat worse 33
Somewhat better 10
Much better 4
Has not changed 36
DK/NA 1

47. If you were walking down the street in your community and you saw a group of eight or 10 young people in your way, would you be very concerned, somewhat concerned, not very concerned or not concerned at all?

Not concerned at all 29
Not very concerned 22
Somewhat concerned 36
Very concerned 11
DK/NA 1

48. As far as you know, should there be security systems and security guards on duty at the public schools in your community during the school day?

No 80
Yes 36
DK/NA 2

49. As far as you are concerned, is sex necessary for a happy marriage?

No 19
Yes 78
DK/NA 3

50. As far as you are concerned, is love necessary for a happy marriage?

No 2
Yes 98
DK/NA 2

51. Some people say that extramarital affairs bring a marriage back and saving. Other people say this affair is a sign that a marriage is in trouble. Of these two points of view, which one comes closest to your own?

Affairs keep a marriage interesting 8
 Affairs mean marriage is in trouble 87
 DK/NA 5



Adulterers are much more likely than women to say they fantasize about sex

52. Everyone, at one time or another, has sexual fantasies. I would like to read you a list of some of these and have you tell me for each one whether it is something that you have thought about often, sometimes, rarely or never.

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	DK/NA
Having sex with someone of a different race?	85	12	17	6	11
Having sex with a close friend?	66	10	18	6	11
Having sex with a complete stranger?	55	10	17	3	12
Having sex with a co-worker?	60	9	15	3	13
Having sex with more than one partner at the same time?	64	9	12	3	12
Having sex in a public place?	74	8	7	2	11
Videoing yourself having sex?	79	4	5	1	11
Having a homosexual/lesbian affair?	83	2	2	1	12

Another myth shattered:

"Like father, like son"

A lot of men think they'll lose their hair some day like their fathers did. It's not necessarily so. The good news is that losing your hair as you grow older need be nothing more than a myth.

Hair Loss: It doesn't have to happen to you

Like their fathers before them, many men will experience hair loss...if they allow it to happen. But with the new medical treatment programs now available, hair loss need not happen to you.

You can treat hair loss

These safe, medical treatment programs have been clinically tested, and the results prove they are effective in retarding hair loss in many men. In fact, some men have also experienced hair regrowth. So if you've already spotted signs of hair loss, or are concerned that this may be happening to you, you can do something about it.

See your doctor soon

There are two reasons for seeing your family doctor or a dermatologist as soon as possible. First, only a doctor can properly assess your particular situation. And second, if a treatment program is required, only a doctor can give you the program you need to treat your hair loss condition.

Shatter the myth

You owe it to yourself to find out more about these new hair loss treatment programs. Your doctor has the facts to separate myth from reality.

After all, hair loss is a medical issue and only a doctor can advise you personally and confidentially. See your doctor.

Find out more

Finding out more about hair loss is as close as your family doctor or dermatologist, or even as near as your telephone. You can...

- ✦ Consult with your family doctor or a dermatologist.
- ✦ Call the 24-hour Hair Loss Information line toll free, Ontario and Quebec residents call 1-800-367-3925, Ext. 22, all other Provinces please call 1-800-367-3450, Ext. 22. Our operators are waiting to take your call. Ask for your free Hair Loss Information package.
- ✦ Complete and mail this request form to receive a Hair Loss Information package.

Effective hair loss treatments are only available through a physician. Consult with your family doctor or dermatologist for more information.

Mail to: Hair Loss Information
2500 Yonge Street, 23rd Floor,
Box 2433, Toronto, Ontario M4P 1H4
Telephone: Ontario & Quebec 1-800-367-3925, Ext. 22
All other Provinces 1-800-367-3450, Ext. 22

Please print clearly.

☐ Mr. ☐ Mrs. ☐ Ms. ☐ Miss

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROV.

POSTAL CODE

AFFAIRS OF THE HEART

Canadians affirm their belief in love and fidelity

As 34, Sandra Taylor has been married to the same man for 18 years. She and her husband, Elmer, have three children and three cats in a small town in Mount Royal, N.S., near the Bay of Fundy. And although there have been tough times, Taylor says that her marriage is a solid thing. Like 66 per cent of Canadians questioned in the Maclean's poll, Taylor said that a deep and enduring love is important to a happy marriage. Sixty-six, 50 and 53 in the poll (see, page 32). But while the 78 per cent who also believe that a happy marriage depends on a satisfying sex life, Taylor maintained that sex is only incidental to the love that binds. "My husband and I are together because we are friends," she said in a follow-up interview with Maclean's. "We do things, we talk, we grow up together." And although she said that sex is one of the best things about her marriage, the relationship does not hinge on it. "If we had sex all day and we couldn't have sex, we would still be together," she said firmly.

A view of sex, love and fidelity vastly different from traditional North American values such as those espoused by Taylor and others was unveiled in 1998 by Canadiana's new president, Nancy Day. The president, a renowned poet and playwright, spoke freely to the media about his 28-year marriage. "Oprah and I have not professed our love for each other for at least 300 years," he said, "but we both feel that we are probably inseparable." Havel, 55, casually acknowledged having extramarital affairs, but the main premise: European culture from which he emerged clearly views adultery differently from most North Americans. Indeed, across Canada, 87 per cent of respondents said that they believe extramarital affairs indicate that a marriage is in trouble. And their tradition views any threat by them specialists in the field of relationships.

Most of Florida Blake's practice as chief social worker at the Clarke Institute of Psychiatry in Toronto involves couples who need help

with their shaky marriages. And while she said that she believes that the importance of love and sex varies from one relationship to another, the issue of trust is paramount. "People get married for a lot of reasons," Blake said. "Most people say they want to be loved, but the most important thing is that there is a convergence of expectations, that they expect the same things from a marriage." She said that some people get very worried when the passion leaves. Love, she said, means different things to different people. Sex, too, is only as impor-

tant as they want to have it. "Then, couples have to grapple with more of that," she said. "If this can be resolved, they may move on to a better understanding. But it's a huge hurdle." In any case, she added the issue is not really difficult to understand. And, Blake said, sex outside marriage puts severe demands on trust.

Take most of the respondents that Maclean's interviewed, Sandra Dunning stressed the importance of trust in a relationship. As office worker and mother of two in Delta, B.C., Dunning, 37, has been married for five years



Open relationships like the Havel's had little appeal to respondents

test is the individual concerned think it is. "If both parties think sex is not important, then it probably isn't," Blake said, adding that problems only arise if the partners have different views.

Some couples agree openly to have affairs, and while Blake said that those arrangements can occasionally be successful, problems arise if one spouse has been promised the arrangement or if the affair takes place with

She maintains strong views about the basis of successful relationships. "A good-quality physical relationship is pretty well mandatory," she said. But she added that trust, not love, is the glue that keeps people together. Said Dunning: "I believe when they get married everybody thinks they are in love. But that is a transient thing. And she expressed skepticism about arrangements like the Havel's. "During pregnancy had marriages like that," Dunning



Like many others, Sandra Dunning insists that trust is essential

said. "They stayed together out of love of habit. But if I had a person I could not trust, well, he'd be down the road. Trust is everything. I am a one-man woman and I expect the same."

Joel Towner and Sally May, two articulate and pragmatic counsellors who operate a family therapy clinic in Toronto, and that they, too, do not see open marriages as progressive.

"What's the point? If we married at all," asked Towner. Instead, they said that permissive attitudes to marriage such as those practiced by the Havel's are really relics of a time when women had fewer choices. In previous decades, women often found themselves trapped in unhappy and abusive relationships. But Towner said Maclean's "Times have changed. We find now that women are leaving more often than men." She added: "Fifteen years ago, this was unheard of. But women have more economic security and they are increasingly less likely to stay with an abusive or unloved man." May said that love, at least a "feeling of being loved," is essential to a happy relationship. "When that goes, and here comes sex, at that point one of the main causes of marriage problems," she said.

Indeed, both women said that the same thing has happened often to adultery. Mental experts say that most men that women have affairs with are usually well respected, successful in place where a marriage is trouble— they talk to their mothers, their sisters and their friends. But if not outside as wives, it is most often another woman. And May said: "A person will feel like they love the person they tell the truth to. This is an infidelity." Because adulterers will also feel uncomfortable about the person they are lying to, Towner added, affairs are "very, very, very destructive." Debra Dore said: "We never think they are OK. And so

matter what happens, the old marriage is over. When there is infidelity, the couple loses something they can never recover."

Clearly, most Canadians polled held similar views. Love, sex and fidelity are the declared preferences of a huge majority, whether they are divorced, married or have never been married. The responses were remarkably consistent from Victoria to Corner Brook, Nfld., among young and old, male and female, rich and poor. But there were some striking patterns in the small minority who said that love and sex were not necessary, or that affairs add spice to a relationship. Respondents aged 30 to 34, those with household incomes under \$10,000 and those with little education were most likely to hold these views. And women respondents between 35 and 39, those with incomes over \$75,000 and respondents with a university education were most likely to say that it was. Indeed, separated or divorced people were slightly less likely to consider sex necessary for a happy marriage. And women, 65 and older, were more likely than any other age-group to think that affairs could enrich a relationship.

Alan Gregg, president of Decima Research Ltd., which conducted the poll, said that the overwhelming support for sex and love in marriage is part of a general trend in the country. Gregg said: "The shift from 'Gone with the Wind' to 'Love me better.'" He added that Canadians are increasingly concerned about the quality of their lives and that, as the country moves into the 1990s, marriage, long-term relationships and, with them, sexuality are becoming more important.

But what about Susan Taylor, a Vancouver psychologist and former child-care supervisor, offers a practical antidote for the social barriers that therapists say affects

many relationships. Couples who have passed through what she calls "the passion phase" into the "companionate phase"—usually those who have been together between three and five years—might consider treating sex as a sport or physical activity that they engage in for fun and exercise. "People would be much more relaxed to give up their notions of passion and emotion, and of romance and look at the sexual part of the relationship in a somewhat of a fun and a 'work-out'," she added. But it is also an ardent advocate of monogamy. "I have never met a happy promiscuous person," she said. And she said: "Extra-curricular sex is not a good idea because the partners become insecure because it destroys the uniqueness of the relationship. Important bonds are broken." She said that people who are already in trouble with their partners are already in trouble.

Therapist's offices are full of people who are unhappy in one another and who are working very hard to patch things up. But they will never get back what they lost," she said.

Even so-called "progressive" and "liberal" groups, such as the Atlantic-based organization called more, or the National Organization of Sexual Educators, says that love and trust are essential to happy relationships. "You can't deal with sex without intimacy," he said. "Without caring, sex is not satisfying." The name of Liddy's group is a tongue-in-cheek to reflect the light-hearted, lighthearted approach to sex that he advocates. But Liddy, who earned a PhD with his study of the social psychology of human sexuality, says that his mission is a serious one. He runs North America's premiere "progressive" sex and relationship center. Despite his progressive views, Liddy echoes the sentiments of a more traditional professional: "Giving is still the bottom line," he says. But he added that North America "is still a very patriarchal, repressed society, and that is the society that we are based on and we are not going to change it in a big way." He added that he was not a big proponent of open marriages, but he was not a big proponent of adultery either. "I believe that love and passion will never go completely out of fashion. These values should still be a new social revolution," he said. But while most Canadians polled indicated that good sex is essential, they do not seem open to endorsing open marriages or the free-wheeling approach to sexuality that characterized the 1960s. Instead, they clearly indicated their belief in monogamous, exclusive relationships. When pressed, even Sandra Taylor, who talks into the small minority that endorses affairs, said that she believes that love is a transient thing, expressed as a healthy bond in caring and commitment.

EXOTIC DAYDREAMS

Men and women agree on what they find arousing

During a late-November seminar at a high school in a small Ontario town, Joe Johanson, a Toronto-based adult-entertainment consultant, talked with senior students about their sexual fantasies. Most of the boys were reasonably frank, he said, but many of the girls were "so embarrassed they could die." Women who responded to the annual Atlantic Ocean poll were also much less likely than men to say that they imagined sexual encounters (question 53 in the poll test, page 32). And although poll results showed that younger women think about sex more than older women do Johanson said that many females still have the attitude that "men girls do not fantasize about intercourse. They are supposed to fantasize about a box of chocolates, a dinner menu and a guy saying, 'I love you. I need you, I'll never leave you.'"

Poll respondents were asked if they ever imagined having sex with a stranger, a co-worker, a close friend, someone of a different race, more than one person, or in a public place, watching sex, or having a homosexual affair. Fully 73 per cent of men acknowledged thinking about at least one of these situations, as did 43 per cent of women. But men and women did generally agree on which of those sexual fantasies they found most, and least, arousing. The most popular, acknowledged by about a third of respondents, were sex with a close friend, with someone of a different sex and with a stranger. Less popular were watching sex (chosen by just one out of 10) and a homosexual affair (new out of 20).

Only 24 per cent of those polled said that they had come of the fantasies. They included two-thirds of respondents over 40. Another 12 per cent declined to respond, leaving 57 per cent overall who acknowledged imagining at least one of the sexual scenarios. That number was almost three-quarters in the 18-to-28 age bracket. It was also significantly higher than average among those with higher incomes and among residents of Quebec.

Men who said that they had one or more of the fantasies outnumbered women in every

age group, but the gap narrows among younger people. Three-quarters of women said 9 out of 10 men between 18 and 24 said that they had at least one, compared with 38 per cent of women and 58 per cent of men aged 40 or above. The largest disparity was among Canadians 60 and older. In that group, only 15 per cent of women said that they had any of the

more often in movies and things," said the 26-year-old hair stylist. "It is more a part of life now." Thinking about sex as a harmless mental exercise, she said, adding that she preferred not to describe specific daydreams. "I do not necessarily want to do what I am fantasizing about," she said. "It is just a fantasy, after all."

Responses differed significantly among regions. Offsetting the high income-wealthy in Quebec, only 56 per cent of respondents in Atlantic Canada said that they had even one of the imagined encounters. At the other extreme, nearly 30 per cent of those polled in Toronto and 27 per cent in Quebec said that they had at least four and as many as all eight of them. Sociologist Robert Gosselin, chairman of Canada's only university sociology department, at the University of Waterloo in Montreal, said that the province's liberal sex attitudes are a result of the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s. It not only removed Quebec politics from the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, but also produced an attitude that sex was "not the church's business," Gosselin said.

The poll results also confirmed that young people realistically envision sexual partners. Indeed, 83 per cent of respondents between 18 and 24 said that they imagined at least one of the fantasies of sex with a stranger, a co-worker, a close friend, someone of a different race, more than one person, or in a public place, watching sex, or having a homosexual affair. Fully 73 per cent of men acknowledged thinking about at least one of these situations, as did 43 per cent of women. But men and women did generally agree on which of those sexual fantasies they found most, and least, arousing. The most popular, acknowledged by about a third of respondents, were sex with a close friend, with someone of a different sex and with a stranger. Less popular were watching sex (chosen by just one out of 10) and a homosexual affair (new out of 20).

Popular fancies involve a friend—or a stranger

fantasies, compared with almost half of men. But Sandra Byers, a psychology professor at the University of New Brunswick in Fredericton, said that those results may simply reflect older women's reluctance to talk about the subject. She added that while "men are expected to think about sex all the time, that is not in the sexual script for women."

But, according to Colette Stuckler, a poll respondent who lives in the Vancouver suburb of Burnaby, those stereotypes are changing. Women "talk more about sex and they see it

ONLY ONE CRUISE LINE GIVES YOU ALL THESE GREAT VACATION SPOTS. PLUS BERMUDA.



When you sail Norwegian Cruise Line's Westward to Bermuda, you'll take in some very exclusive points of interest along the way. Like a full-scale Broadway production of *Grease*. Lectures by famous sports personalities. And the most spacious staterooms—by far.

For further details on an exceptional cruise to Bermuda, simply call your travel agent or 1-800-262-4NCL and ask for a copy of our brochure. NCL has always given you superior entertainment, activities and dining. And beginning April 20, 1991, we give you Bermuda



©1991 NORWEGIAN CRUISE LINE

JAMES DEACON

THE ROCK REBORN?

NEWFOUNDLANDERS ARE LOOKING TO THE HIBERNIA OILFIELD TO IMPROVE THE PROVINCE'S ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

Naked deep on the rugged shoreline of Newfoundland's Placentia Bay, the fishing village of Arnold's Cove is being reborn. Fifteen years ago, the community was fighting for its life after the neighboring Con-By-Choice oil refinery closed down. The closure forced a quarter of Arnold's Cove's 1,700 residents to leave in search of work. Now, people are flocking back to the village, which has re-emerged as one of the most prosperous in the province.

The refinery, reopened under new owners two years ago, is busy turning foreign crude oil into products. At the same time, the village fish-processing plant, owned by National Sea Products Ltd., is operating at full capacity. And already, preliminary work has begun at the site where a huge, concrete base for an offshore production platform will be built for the Hibernia oilfield. Construction of the \$1.3-billion platform is expected to create as many as 3,500 jobs at the site, declares Arnold's Cove Mayor Thomas Osbourne: "The future looks bright."

And that optimism is spreading rapidly in Newfoundland, the province that has long been identified as the poorest in Canada. Despite a crisis in the traditional Atlantic fishery, Newfoundlanders are again looking to the sea to rekindle their economy. Currently, however, the anticipated wealth lies in the oil of buried deep beneath the Grand Banks of New-

foundland's southeast coast. Producers predict that developing the first offshore oilfield at Hibernia will create 4,900 jobs during peak periods of the construction phase and 1,100 jobs for the 18-year life of the field. According to Newfoundland's Liberal premier, Clyde Wells, that expected oil boom will lift the province's private sector to new levels of prosperity. Still, Wells during an interview with Maclean's: "The economy is really tied to oil." But how much of the anticipated new wealth will find its way into the provincial treasury remains a doubt. And Wells notes that his indebted government is unlikely to be able to offer much assistance to any Newfoundlanders who fail to find a place in the expanding oil economy and its industries.

Still, Newfoundland's residents express rising optimism about their economic outlook. According to one recent poll by Halifax-based Omicron Research Ltd., the proportion of Newfoundlanders who expect their economy to improve over the next year—despite that recession gripping Central Canada—has climbed to 38 per cent from 30 per cent six months

ago—the value of all goods and services produced in the province will climb by 2.9 per cent during 1991, far ahead of the virtually flat growth (0.1 per cent) that the bank forecast for the rest of the country.

Until recently, optimism was rare in Newfoundland. And in fact, the province's economy was reeling with painful problems. The most pressing is an unemployment rate that, at 17.7 per cent, stands next to Nunavut's, the 9.1-per-cent national rate. Most of the layoffs have hit 40,000 Newfoundlanders out of work, have taken place in the deeply troubled fishery. That industry received an additional cut last month when federal officials further reduced the amount of northern cod that fishermen will be allowed to catch in 1991. In a measure directed at protecting falling cod stocks, officials cut the Atlantic catch quota by 7,000 tons to 196,000 tons.

At the same time, the province's pulp-and-paper mills have also cut jobs in response to falling demand for their products. As well, Newfoundland's accumulated debt of \$4.5 billion has forced the government to curtail spending at a time when Wells says he would prefer to increase expenditures to stimulate the economy. Added the premier: "Our ability to deal with the economic impact of the recession is diminished."

And there are even deeply rooted problems that threaten to hinder the province's return to prosperity. A 1984 government-sponsored Royal Commission on Employment, chaired by economist Douglas Horne, concluded that Newfoundland's high rate of illiteracy and poor education systems were at the root of much of its economic problems. At the same time, some economists and business leaders say that decades of dependence upon unemployment insurance and government transfer payments have spawned a welfare mentality among some Newfoundlanders. Added Victor Young, chair-

man of Primary Products International Ltd., the giant St. John's-based fishing company: "Our biggest challenge is whether or not we will be able to change these attitudes."

But, for many Newfoundlanders, the province's prospects changed dramatically with the Sept. 14 signing of an agreement that creates the federal government, Newfoundland and a consortium of private oil companies to spend \$2.1 billion developing the Hibernia oilfield, 200 miles southeast of St. John's. Under the accord, Ottawa promised to contribute 25 per cent of the construction costs up to a ceiling of

ment that injected life into the Hibernia project after more than two decades of on-again-off-again success. Wells, a lawyer who led his party to a general election victory in 1986, declaring a 17-year-old Conservative dynasty, points to terms in the federal-provincial agreement that will reduce equalization payments to the province in step with any provincial royalties from oil production. Declared the premier: "In financial terms, the project does little for the province." Still, he acknowledged, "the economic terms, it is building the strength of individuals and the confidence of a province as a whole. For



PHOTOGRAPH BY GUY LAWRENCE

Osbourne: 'The future looks bright' in a province beset with economic problems

\$1.64 billion, as well as to guarantee loans of \$1.68 billion to the group of oil companies, led by Mobil Canada Inc., that will develop the field.

As well as jobs, the enterprise is expected to provide other benefits. Officials at Newfoundland Offshore Development Corp., the company that is overseeing the design and construction near Arnold's Cove of the massive platform-minefield base, say that they plan to award the first of more than 400 subcontracts within the next few weeks. As a result, noted Maureen Macdonald, senior economist at the Halifax-based Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, the Hibernia project will boost the construction industry and the commercial sector's sector.

But Wells says that he is still unhappy with some of the provisions in the September agree-

ment that injected life into the Hibernia project after more than two decades of on-again-off-again success. Wells, a lawyer who led his party to a general election victory in 1986, declaring a 17-year-old Conservative dynasty, points to terms in the federal-provincial agreement that will reduce equalization payments to the province in step with any provincial royalties from oil production. Declared the premier: "In financial terms, the project does little for the province." Still, he acknowledged, "the economic terms, it is building the strength of individuals and the confidence of a province as a whole. For

every dollar's worth of equalization we give back to the federal government, we give a dollar's worth of dignity, self-respect and independence."

And despite his doubts about the terms, the premier, rarely-checked premier says that he will pursue even larger megaprojects for his province. In one case, Wells says that he has overcome personal differences with Quebec's Premier Robert Bourassa over the failed Meech Lake constitutional accord in order to make progress towards an agreement on a \$13-billion project to develop two new hydro-electric power units at Labrador's Baccara water-powered dam, Wells told Maclean's. "There is a good probability that we would have a deal."

In fact, both provinces have shown a willingness to compromise some significant agree-

National Notes

AN IMMIGRATION DEAL

Ottawa and Quebec concluded an agreement in principle on immigration. Under the terms, that federal Immigration and Employment Minister Barbara McDougall announced, Quebec will have exclusive responsibility for the selection and migration of immigrants to the province insofar as they are not citizens or citizens under the family reunification program.

BOUCHARD'S ADVICE

"Wake up" was the message to the West from federal Industry Minister Joseph Bouchard. In an interview with the *Windsor Free Press*, Bouchard, who noted his recent visit to the 1980 Quebec referendum, said that independence for Quebec "does not mean to further people outside Quebec." He added, "If we now the door has been closed, Quebec could go for sovereignty."

YACHTFIRE KIDNAPPING

Pile of ashes suspects arrested in connection with the Dec. 21 kidnapping of Cynthia Kilham, 30, married daughter of Vancouver multimillionaire businessman James Kilham, were released in custody. Two other suspects were released and will appear in court at an unspecified date this month. Kilham was kidnapped late on Dec. 21 after her father, who served as chairman of Vancouver's Expo '86, reportedly paid a \$200,000 ransom. The suspects, four of them parents, were arrested on Dec. 22 after having a ransom to take them on a shopping spree.

NATIVE AGREEMENT

Indian Affairs and Northern Development Minister Thomas Siddons announced that the federal government has reached an agreement in principle with the 480-member Ojibwa-Bands of the northwestern Ontario Cree of northern Quebec. Under the terms of the \$21-million agreement, Ottawa will fund the construction of a village for the reserves and give them land status.

BEAKING GROUND

International Trade Minister John Crosbie is scheduled to visit Vietnam during a 17-day tour of Southeast Asia starting on Jan. 10. His first visit to that Communist-ruled country in more than 34 years.

UNDANGEROUS WILDLIFE

The World Wildlife Fund issued a warning that Canada must keep hunting restrictions and laws because of the loss of wilderness and overhunting.



Wells as optimism that is shared by many economists

men. That optimism is shared by many economists, who predict that the province's persistently struggling economy will be the most vibrant in the country next year. Last month, the Bank of Montreal, for one, forecast that Newfoundland's gross domestic prod-

Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future Now you're talking ...and we're listening.

We're the Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future—a dozen Canadians the federal government has asked to report by July 1, 1990, on your ideas for our country's future.

We're an independent, non-partisan group, with a wide range of backgrounds and beliefs. Our job is to collect and focus citizens' views into their vision of the future.

To do this, we need to hear from you.

We need to know what you think is wrong with our country—and how, together, we can fix it. We also want to hear what's right, and worth keeping.

We want to hear from everybody—especially those who aren't used to speaking up and speaking out.

Call now—and make a difference

From January to June 1990, we'll be offering you an unprecedented chance to help reshape our future. We'll do this through many kinds of informal meetings where you'll feel comfortable giving your views.

For starters, we've set up a special Idea Line—1-800-66-FORUM—to let you call us free from anywhere in Canada, seven days a week, between 8 a.m. and 8 p.m.

Whatever your thoughts, we'd like to hear them.

Remember, now you're talking... and we're listening.

CANADA—IT'S YOUR CALL: 1-800-66-FORUM*

You can also write us at:

Citizens' Forum

P.O. Box 198, Station B

Ottawa, Canada K1P 1A2

*For FORUM be sure to dial the letter O, not zero

Citizens' Forum
on
Canada's Future



Le Forum des citoyens
sur
l'avenir du Canada

CANADA

the project resumed last January. Newfoundland has reportedly dropped its long-standing insistence that any new power development in Labrador be linked to a renegotiation of the controversial 1968 contract that allows Hydro Quebec to buy most of the power generated from an existing dam at Churchill Falls at bargain-basement prices. Hydro Quebec, meanwhile, has told officials in Newfoundland that it is prepared to pay higher amounts for its share of the output from any new power plants. Saul Cyrd Akery, chairman of Newfoundland and Labrador Hydro, "Quebec understands that we intend to get the best price for the power."

Those ambitious undertakings, however, will do little to relieve Newfoundland's \$80,000 residents from their reliance on fishing, forestry and mining, and energy mismanagement. To that end, Wells's government has hired Hume to lead the Economic Recovery Commission, directed at diversifying the province's economy. The commission, says Hume, has supplied expertise and support programs for Newfoundland small businesses, and even acted directly to get together business deals between outside investors and local firms. Declared Hume, "There's a new dynamism in Newfoundland small business."

But embedded problems remain. Provincial government cost-cutting has forced the postponement of promised improvements in health care and education, despite Newfoundland's record of having the highest literacy rate of any of the provinces. In many communities that are remote from the developing oil basin, unemployment remains high—in some villages, seasonal unemployment among working-age people can be as high as 50 per cent. Declared Marguerite Elliot, co-ordinator of food banks for Newfoundland, "In many places, things are as bad as they were during the Great Depression."

At the same time, critics, such as Cabot Martin, president of the Newfoundland Inshore Fisheries Association, say that Wells is focusing too much attention on megaprojects and diversifying the economy, and too little on rebuilding the province's eroded fishery. "You can't build economic recovery with policies which ignore the backbone of the economy," Martin remarks. Even in areas that are expected to benefit the most from the offshore oil riches, some Newfoundlanders are doubtful that prosperity is really around the corner. Notes Alberto Marchese, owner of a grocery and hardware store in Arncliffe Cove, "Let's just say we are always a bit skeptical around here when people start saying that we are going to be rich."

Indeed, even the most optimistic of the province's residents think that it will take more than a single oilfield and a few enterprising small businesses to break Newfoundland's cycle of poverty. But in places like Arncliffe Cove, renewed economic activity is at least beginning to erase some of the more painful memories of the past.

JAMES DUMONT is St. John's

Volume Leader.



Cast moves
more cargo, more frequently,
than other vessel fleets on
the North Atlantic.

CAST

The Blue Box System of Container Shipping



Gorbachev, a new union treaty across a showdown with the native republics

WORLD

FIGHTING OFF 'DARK FORCES'

Just six days after Edward Shevardnadze chastised the Soviet Union with his unprecedented resignation, claiming that "dictatorship is growing greater," President Mikhail Gorbachev appeared to reaffirm his foreign minister's worst fears. Last week, in the midst of mounting food shortages, ethnic violence and political paralysis, the 2,250-member Congress of People's Deputies voted overwhelmingly to greet Gorbachev's costly total control with almost every key aspect of Soviet political and economic life. The Soviet president argued that he needed the new executive powers to protect against "dark forces" stalking the country. But many of his critics, including Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin, complained that Gorbachev will have

**GORBACHEV FACED
A BUDGET CRISIS
AND A FRACTIOUS
PARTY CONGRESS
AS HE FOUGHT FOR
GREATER POWERS**

more power than any previous leader, even archduke dictator Josef Stalin. Declared Yeltsin, however, the widow of political dissident and Nobel Peace laureate Andrei Sakharov: "Gorbachev is not going toward democratization. But instead is going back towards a craft totalitarian regime."

As the congress ended on Dec. 27, it was Gorbachev who faced much more. Yeltsin's powerful declaration slashed its payment to the federal budget and, on the eve of the new year, Gorbachev warned that the nation faced economic collapse. Earlier in the day, as last Soviet president appeared his new authority, there were signs of other political battles to come. Having voted to create a new post of vice-president, delegates rejected Gorbachev's handpicked nominee for the position, veteran Communist lieutenant Gennadi Yanayev. Many reform-

ist delegates were clearly split at Gorbachev's choice of Yanayev, who symbolized for them a return to conservative Communist orthodoxy and whose relative obscurity raised concerns that he would merely be a Gorbachev yes-man. Only after an impassioned plea by the president that he needed someone "I can trust" did the delegates agree to hold a vote on the choice. In that, Yanayev won a simple majority—and Gorbachev scored a measure of faith.

At the same time, the congress approved Gorbachev's blueprint for a new union treaty that would give the country's 15 republics limited autonomy while maintaining ultimate control at the center. That opposition to the treaty in at least half of the republics, including Yeltsin's Russian Federation and the three Baltic republics, could delay it to fall it out right, setting Gorbachev on a potentially dangerous course in the new year.

Still, he could confront his opponents with a daunting political arsenal. The package of constitutional amendments that the congress approved by a vote of 1,555 to 116, with 49 abstentions, transforms the 86-member Council of Ministers into a much smaller and less powerful Cabinet of Ministers, under direct presidential control. The congress also approved a strengthened Federation Council, including representatives of all 15 republics and 20 smaller ethnic jurisdictions. The council, to be headed by the president will be the new president, is designed to give republics a greater voice at the Kremlin and to settle the country's potentially explosive regional conflicts. At the same time, the congress approved a National Security Council that Gorbachev is expected to appoint to his inner cabinet, supporting leaders at the defense, interior and

foreign ministries and the late secret police.

Under powers granted to him when he first became executive president last March, Gorbachev remains in charge of the armed forces and can declare direct rule in troubled areas under certain conditions. And under temporary powers granted by parliament last September, he can use devices to ease the transition of the crumbling Soviet economy into a free-market system.

The congress last week did not define the powers of the vice-president, apparently leaving that for Gorbachev to decide. His first choice for the post had been Shevardnadze. But after the foreign minister's resignation on Dec. 26, the Soviet president turned to Yanayev. Last Thursday, after the coalition Politburo member failed by 31 votes to win on the first ballot—despite the fact that he was the only candidate—Gorbachev pleaded with the delegates to reconsider. "We have a last chance," he declared. "From this on, if this leadership fails to ensure that the ensuing point is passed, it should be swept from the political arena." Added Gorbachev: "I want someone alongside me I can trust." Despite charges of vote rigging by some radical delegates, the Soviet president prevailed, and Yanayev became the country's first-ever vice-president.



Yanayev: Many critics see a leader's need for a trustworthy right-hand man

With the departure of his longtime ally Shevardnadze and the disclosure last week that Prime Minister Nikolai Ryklov had refused a serious heart attack on the night of Dec. 26, Gorbachev, 56, asked needs, a trustworthy right-hand man. Like Gorbachev, the 53-year-old Yanayev is an ethnic Russian. He named a law lawyer in 1967 and, in the early 1970s, he became chairman of the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations, a Communist group that deals with foreign youth movements. In the 1980s, he served for six years as deputy chairman of the Soviet Friendship Society, a group that maintains non-governmental contacts with foreigners. The old body builder succeeded to the Communist party's policymaking Central Committee, eventually becoming a secretary.

Last July, Yanayev was elected to the party's Politburo after a shakedown that also significantly decreased the authority of the now-empowered post-Yanayev, who is the leader of the

730-member Communist bloc in parliament, confirmed the fears of many reformers when he told the congress last week, "as a convinced Communist to the death of me and so."

Earlier in the week, the congress approved Gorbachev's blueprint for a new union treaty and ordered a countrywide referendum on preserving the fractious federation. Deputies also ordered a referendum on private land ownership in an apparent bid to gain in several republics that have liberalized property laws. As well, the congress adopted a resolution that stressed a need for an economic agreement between Moscow and the 15 Soviet republics for 1991. In June, Gorbachev and republican leaders met for 10 complete weeks on it.

But as the 16-day congress was ending last week, Gorbachev told the delegates that republic legislators in Russia threatened to provide only the equivalent of \$45.3 billion to work the national budget for 1991, about 50 percent less than the past republic contribution this year. If other republics follow Russia's lead and drastically cut their contributions to the \$454 billion national budget, Gorbachev warned, the result would be "a collapse not only of the economy, but of the union." The newly elected parliament urged the republic legislature to suspend its decision. But at



THROUGHTS FLEED
Nearly 100 supporters gave a hero's welcome to three members of the so-called Jewish Underground when they were released from a five-year detention facility near Tel Aviv. The Israeli government freed Moshelem Levin, Shmuel Ben Eliezer and Shmuel Ben Eliezer after they had served less than seven years of their 10-year sentences for the 1983 murder of three Jewish students at the West Bank's Islamic College. Last November, critics said that the government appeared to be succumbing to vigilantes and that Palestinians served long prison sentences for the lesser crimes against Jews.

AN UNWELCOME VISITOR
Parasites expelled former King Michael just 12 hours after he had arrived in Bucharest, the capital, on his first visit to his native land since the Communists forced him to abdicate in 1947. A spokesman for the ruling National Salvation Front said that the presence of the 60-year-old former monarch could have soured political conversations. One year after the revolution that overthrew dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, tens of thousands of protesters have been demanding the resignation of the current government.

A VOICE FOR INDEPENDENCE
The Yugoslav republic of Slovenia voted overwhelmingly to become an independent state and secede from the Socialist Federation of Yugoslavia. The country's most pragmatic region, known for its economic success, saying that a complete break would come only if the six Yugoslav republics fail to work out a new political framework for the country within six months.

POLITICS AND VIOLENCE
The seven-member minority government of Indian Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar survived a parliamentary vote on Tuesday over Shekhar's handling of a wave of Hindu-Muslim violence that has killed more than 450 people in the past two months.

EXODUS TO GERMANY
German officials claim that they will soon be unable to provide housing for the increasing influx of Soviet Jews to their country. Although almost 200,000 Soviet Jews have emigrated to Israel this year to escape rising anti-Semitism and political and economic chaos, 5,000 have gone to Germany, many of them staying in private German homes. They are more than 100,000 more than the Germans have agreed to accept under immigration rules, which take effect on Jan. 1, but their impact on Soviet Jews remains unclear.

ANDREW BILAKI with correspondents reports

Start out small
and someday you'll be
really big.

No matter
what size your
office or budget, Canon has a
Personal Copier to suit
your needs.

Compact and affordable,
you can still have features like
zoom reduction, enlargement
and colour copying. Plus our
unique mini-carriage makes
for virtually maintenance-free
operation.

If you're a business on
the way up, try a Canon
Personal Copier on for size.

Canon
PERSONAL COPIERS



WORLD

BRITAIN

Embracing Islam

*Rushdie appeals his Iran-
imposed death sentence*

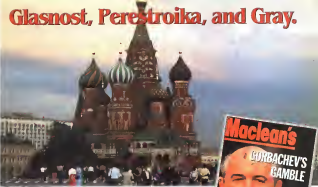
Salman Rushdie is like a man trapped in his own worst nightmare, unable to wake up. Last week, the controversial British author found yet again to persuade fundamentalist Iranian clerics to remove the death sentence that Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini pronounced against him in February, 1989, for allegedly defaming Islam in his novel *The Satanic Verses*. In a statement issued in the presence of Muslim leaders in London, the 43-year-old Rushdie, who has been in hiding for nearly two years, endorsed Islam and disavowed parts of the book that "insult the Prophet Muhammad or cast aspersions upon Islam." He also announced that he will support the publication of his next newspaper, "I had a lot safer thought than I felt yesterday," Rushdie said in a news conference conducted by telephone, that he spoke too soon. Two days later, Iran's spiritual leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, declared that the death sentence still stands. Quoting Khomeini, who died in 1982, the cleric said that even if Rushdie "repents and because the most pious Muslim on earth, there will be no change in this divine decree."

Rushdie's book, a journalistic work that questioned the tenets of Islam through an imaginary dialogue called *Satanstoe* (and which includes a list of proscriptions who take the names of Muhammad's wives), has sold 1.2 million copies, has been translated into 15 languages—and has been banned in more than 30 countries. Iranian and Iran-exile hostile diplomatic relations over Khomeini's death order, only to restore them three months ago despite the fact that Iranian leaders had refused to lift the death sentence.

The author's latest gesture was praise from many North American Muslim leaders. But others said that Rushdie's embrace of Islam was the equivalent of a confession of guilt. Following publication of *The Satanic Verses* in 1988, Rushdie said that, although he was raised a Muslim in India, he now had no religion at all. And he added defiantly, "Frankly, I wish I had written a more critical book." After his long ordeal in hiding, Rushdie has clearly come to feel otherwise—and to long for release from the spectre of a lethal encounter with a hostile Muslim province.

BOB LEVIN with correspondents' reports

Glasnost, Perestroika, and Gray.



Maclean's puts you front row centre as the Curtain rises

The remarkable events currently shaking the Soviet Union are being monitored by Maclean's correspondent Malcolm Gray, our man in Moscow. And, therefore, your man in Moscow.

As the real-life drama unfolds, his accounts provide a unique perspective from inside the Iron Curtain and appear exclusively in Canada's Weekly Newsmagazine.

From Red Square to the Arctic Circle to the Golden Triangle, Maclean's delivers the world's news every week. Vital information. Exclusive insights and analysis of the key issues of our times. And the implications for Canadians and this country.

Plus reports on books and business, people and power, law and lifestyles, the economy and the environment. As well as updates on science and sports, movies and medicine, television and technology—all in a colorful, easy-to-read format.

See for yourself—take four free issues with no cost or obligation. If you find Maclean's an indispensable source of the world's news, we'll happily send you another 26 issues for just \$1 each—a total of 30 issues for only \$26—that's 60% off the newsstand price. **Order now!**

Maclean's
No. 22, Avenue 63/2202
Or by mail to: Maclean's, Box 4000, Station A, Toronto, Ont. M5E 1S6

**SEND ME
4 FREE ISSUES**

YES! Please send me four free issues of Maclean's. If I also orders 18 pay now I will receive an additional 26 issues when your bill arrives. That means I'll receive a total of 30 issues for just \$26—\$41.30 off the cover price—\$1.91/ISSUE. GST (13% of \$26.42) \$3.04. I'll be billed on the bill please. I and my family. The last issues are more for you.

Name

Address

City State

Postal Code

☐ I prefer to pay now by cheque or credit card below

☐ Cheque ☐ Credit Card

☐ MasterCard ☐ American Express

Expires (month/year)

NAME

0001-0001/0001/0001/0001/0001

THE PERSIAN GULF

'We shall strike back'

Israel vows retaliation if Iraq attacks

Iraq President Saddam Hussein had uttered the threat before, but this time it seemed more immediate—and more serious. "If we have to take the first blow," Hussein said in a Spanish television interview broadcast last Wednesday, "then Tel Aviv will receive the next attack, whether or not Israel takes part." Drawing the Israelis into a shoot-out war would clearly weaken the ties between Washington and its Arab allies in the Persian Gulf. And that prospect plainly worried the Americans in the United Nations' Jan. 15 deadline for Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait drew nearer. It was "a very realistic threat," said a Pentagon intelligence spokesman. For his part, Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens said that there was "no sword for peace." But he added, "If we are hit, we shall strike back."

Hussein's new war threat against Israel was one of a number of signs last week that war was increasingly likely early in the new year. Another indicator was the Pentagon's disclosure

that it would soon begin vaccinating U.S. troops against such deadly diseases as anthrax, typhoid and cholera, which, according to a recent CIA report, are part of Iraq's "intable stockpile" of biological weapons. As well, President George Bush tried to dampen public worries by U.S. generals that they were not ready to launch an offensive by Jan. 15. In fact, Bush told reporters last Thursday, he was "very comfortable" with the combat readiness of U.S. forces in the Gulf.

The Americans sent a 37-ship carrier fleet to the Gulf last week, and the 16,000 marines and soldiers they are transporting will bring the U.S. troop total in the region to more than 500,000. Meanwhile, public opinion in Canada, which has sent 1,700 army troops and women, three warships and 18 jet fighters in the Gulf, appeared to have turned against involvement in war. In a Gallup poll released last week, 55 per cent of respondents said that they were opposed to paying any U.S.-led offensive, and

only 36 per cent expressed support.

In the United States, the debate over the combat readiness of U.S. forces added to public mistrust. In a taped Christmas Day message to the troops, Bush pledged, "It will do my level best to bring you home without a single shell fired." But he added that if war did come, "the soldiers you make will never be forgotten." On a lighter note, comedian Dick Hope, 67, following a personal tradition that he began during the Second World War, wished front-line U.S. troops on Christmas Day. But because of Saudi Arabia's religious sensitivity, the Pentagon barred his usual exchange of witty observations and even banned Hope's script.

At sea, there was a tense encounter at the approach to the Gulf when U.S., British and Australian sailors boarded a ship carrying contraband food to Iraq. Some of the 40 Arab women peace activists who were passengers on the 11,300-ton *Khaldun* tried to seize the boarding party's weapons. A scuffle followed, and U.S. sailors used milder force to subdue the crew. There were no casualties, and a Pentagon spokesman.

On the diplomatic front, Washington and Baghdad apparently made no progress towards finding a mutually acceptable plan for talks to end the crisis. Hussein continued to insist on Jan. 12 as the first date on which he would receive U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. And Baker continued to insist on Jan. 2, saying that the 12th was too close to the oil deadline. In Baghdad, 20 Iraqi ambassadors who had

been summoned home for consultations began referring to their guests with Hussein's message that he wanted a "constructive and constructive dialogue" with Washington. But the Iraqi ambassadors repeated his determination to stay in Kuwait.

Meanwhile, Hussein's latest warning of a missile strike against the Israelis led to counterwarnings from Jerusalem. Said Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, "Whoever will dare to attack us will be attacked seven times more." But he added that "we know how to act with restraint." Clearly, if Hussein should attack Israel, and especially if he uses chemical weapons, he would court a catastrophic response. Apart from its formidable air force, Israel is known to have an arsenal of sophisticated missiles capable of hitting Iraqi targets.

Meanwhile, Defense Minister Arens played down the effectiveness of Hussein's missile and chemical warfare capability. "There is no prospect of a run of Iraq missiles falling on Israel," he said. Baghdad's long-range weapons were "conducive to offense," said Arens, adding "Only a few, if any, would reach Israel." But



U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia preparing for Iraqi biological warfare

some independent analysts challenged that assurance. David Lembo, of Tel Aviv University's Jaffee Centre for Strategic Studies, estimated that in a worst-case scenario, Iraq could hit an Israeli target city with up to 30 missiles, each carrying 350 lb. of nerve or mustard gas. Reuven Peltzman, defense analyst for the daily *Haaretz*, estimated a worst-case total of 16 missile hits. Retired brigadier-general Abraham

showing the 55-per-cent opposition to Canadian involvement in a Gulf war. Despite their distance from the scene of potential conflict, Canadians, like much of the rest of the world, were clearly growing jittery in the prospect of a shooting war down closer.

JOHN BIRKMAN with ERIC SILVER in Jerusalem and correspondent reports

It seems like only yesterday you said "I do," and now, with number two on the way you need more room. In the midst of times like these, remember to steal away a few precious moments and let the sun in with a Sun-Rype Cocktail. After all, you deserve it.

This I do for me

Sun-Rype

Py Capri Sun
Py Capri Sun
Py Capri Sun
Py Capri Sun

SUN-RYPE

TURMOIL AT THE TOP

AN ABRUPT DEPARTURE AT CIBC SIGNALLED A MAJOR CHANGE AT THE COUNTRY'S NUMBER 2 BANK

Only a day or two before Christmas, Warren Mowsey was the guest of honor at a dinner in a wood-paneled dining room at the headquarters of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce in downtown Toronto. Despite the elegance of the surroundings, the atmosphere was strained. Six weeks earlier, Mowsey, 53, had stepped down as president of the CIBC's retail operations, leaving his successor's departure on what he called a "philosophical disagreement" with the bank's hard-nosed chairman, Donald Fultner. At the dinner, Fultner was playing host to Mowsey and 24 of the bank's senior executives. When the dinner ended, Mowsey thanked his 50-year-old former boss for his hospitality. But he posted a reference to his own resignation. He also cautioned his former colleagues about "the breakdown of trust" that can take place at an organization when long-serving employees lose their jobs.

Even now, Mowsey refuses to discuss publicly the reasons for his abrupt departure from one of the most senior positions in the Canadian banking industry. But there is little doubt that his resignation signals a period of upheaval at the CIBC, which under Fultner's leadership has finally established itself as the country's second-largest bank. In the past year, Fultner has twice sent letters to the bank's clients and senior managers outlining their performance and accounting them for complacency in management. Cultural changes are always difficult in large organizations.

In fact, some bank analysts speculate that



Mowsey: a "philosophical disagreement" with the CIBC's hard-nosed chairman

Fultner may have been dissatisfied with Mowsey's efforts to improve the performance of the CIBC's consumer banking operations. As president of the retail division since 1986, Mowsey was responsible for the bank's network of 1,257 domestic branches and 1,514 automated teller machines, as well as its portfolio of personal loans and mortgages. In the bank's fiscal year that ended Oct. 31, the CIBC ran about \$174 million in consumer loans on unpaid consumer loans and residential mortgages. By contrast, the country's largest financial institution, the Royal Bank of Canada, said made only \$118 million for consumer and mortgage loans in that period. "It is the one area that I'm not proud of in the last year," Mowsey said. He added: "It was a problem area. It was the

subject of a lot of internal discussion. But it didn't seem to be a showstopper."

Another concern for CIBC executives was that the consumer banking division had failed to achieve its stated target for growth. In 1986, Mowsey said, the bank's senior officials set out to become what they described as Canada's "number 1 financial institution" by 1991. Currently, the Royal Bank is the country's largest bank, followed by the CIBC, the Bank of Montreal, the Bank of Nova Scotia and the Toronto-Dominion Bank. Mowsey said that he sent a letter to all CIBC employees last September telling them that the bank's research indicated that it had oversteered the Royal in terms of customer satisfaction. But the letter added that the Royal still had a larger

share of total personal bank deposits—and that there was no way that the CIBC could close the gap by the end of 1991.

Fultner has declined to say whether he was upset with the pace of growth during Mowsey's term as president of the bank's retail operations. But the CIBC chairman has made clear his intention to retire from the bank in 1992 or 1993. Said Mowsey: "I'd been in the position all of a sudden I was going to retire in the next one, two or three years, I'd probably want to use everything I could. Maybe that was his objective."

For his part, Fultner told Maclean's that he was pleased by the bank's recent performance. He added that he recognized the dangers involved in trying to expand too rapidly. Among other things, a bank that aggressively attempts to increase its portfolio of consumer and mortgage loans runs the risk of making too many bad loans. "Volume-driven activity is not the policy of the bank," Fultner said, "and we don't intend to make it the policy of the bank." He added that the bank's traditionally cautious approach to lending was one of the reasons why it was able to record record profits of \$663 million in the 1986-1990 fiscal year. "Our bankers will be satisfied in long term to have any loan losses on their books," Fultner said. "But," he added, "we have been very conservative in accounting for problem loans and we are not underestimating surprises today." Indeed, one senior CIBC official said privately that Fultner's approach appeared to be more cautious than Mowsey's had been. Said the executive, who requested that he not be identified: "Fultner has been warning people for two years that the recession was coming and to make sure that the bank had close portfolios."

At the same time, Fultner is clearly determined to strengthen the bank's management. In February, he sent a memorandum to the bank's senior and middle managers in which he urged them to be tougher in their employee evaluations. "There is no way that CIBC can survive. Let alone prosper," the letter said. "We allow one size of our personnel to be subordinated in our pursuit of providing value to our customers." Fultner also complained about "middle-management clutter" and said that the bank's employees were too often managed in a "country club" fashion.

Fultner acknowledged in the memorandum that his sternly worded directives had costed "some discomfort" among the bank's 45,300 full- and part-time employees. But he said that his objective was to improve the CIBC's operations by ensuring that staff members received honest appraisals of their performance. "It is not being critical of management," he said. "It is being critical of people who manage management. Anybody who interviews with that process is holding us back." Fultner added that, in the past, some managers were reluctant to deal openly with problems in the areas under their supervision. "They would avoid the subject, they set of lowest appraisal and merely say that everything was going perfectly. We are dealing with the types of people who caused management policy not to flow through or employee suggestions not to flow up."

Although CIBC officials deny that a major reorganization of the bank's internal structure is planned, Mowsey was not the only senior banker to leave the company. Last June one month later, John Myers, the executive vice-president of CIBC's retail arm, announced that he, too, was resigning. Fultner said that Myers left the bank because he was disappointed that he had not been chosen as Mowsey's successor. Instead, the job went to 48-year-old Edgar Kluge, who previously ran the bank's international operations.

To achieve the bank's goal of becoming Canada's leading financial institution, Kluge will likely have to increase the number of CIBC branches and subordinated banking services across the country. At the same time, Kluge will have to repair the uncertainty created by Mowsey's abrupt departure. "There is no friction," Fultner assured. "As far as I am concerned, Mowsey is a good friend of mine and will continue to be so." Clearly, though, Fultner's drive to improve the CIBC's performance has sent ripples through the ranks of the country's second-largest bank.

Business Notes

ECONOMY SHRINKS AGAIN

Canada sank deeper into a recession in October, but the downturn slowed considerably. Statistics Canada reported that the nation's gross domestic product, which has been declining since last April, fell by 0.1 per cent in October compared with a 0.7-per-cent drop in September. Slight growth in sectors such as retail and truck transportation, and fewer layoffs offset some of the decline in manufacturing and construction.

NUCLEAR REACTOR SALE

Cross-owned Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd. has sold its first nuclear reactor to a foreign buyer in a decade. Energy Minister Jake Epp announced that the Ottawa-based sale, has won a \$600-million contract to build a second CANDU nuclear generating station in Wolsong, South Korea. It is the first foreign sale of a CANDU since Romania agreed to buy a Canadian reactor in 1981.

AIRLINE MIDDLE PAINTERS

Trans World Airlines Inc. (TWA) chairman Carl Kahn accused troubled Pan Am Corp. of "a lack of good-faith interest" after Air Canada executives cancelled talks to discuss a proposed merger of the two airlines. Kahn had offered \$433 million for Pan Am, but he also wanted the cash-strapped airline to file for bankruptcy protection. Pan Am executives said that they wanted to continue negotiations, but were making a more detailed offer from TWA.

OTTAWA'S GOT TALKS

A report prepared by the department of finance shows that Ottawa expects to collect \$20 billion in revenues from the new seven-province, Ontario and Quebec Tax (GST) during the fiscal year beginning April 1. A quarter of the total will come from taxes on clothing and footwear, housing and purchases of household supplies. The GST replaces the old 15.5-per-cent sales tax, which, based on a much narrower range of items, which would have yielded Ottawa an estimated \$17 billion over the same period had it remained in effect.

CREDIT CARD FOR SALE

As Canada's second largest, it wants to sell a majority interest in its vibrant credit card division as part of a cost-cutting drive. The airline introduced the card in 1977, and there are now about 380,000 cards in use. Last fall, Air Canada laid off 2,960 employees and announced that it would shut its head office building on downtown Montreal in order to reduce expenses and raise cash.





The West's urgent cry to be heard

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

As the year turns, it seems almost inevitable that concern springing from the cadence of discourse threatening to blow this country apart will coalesce in Quebec, focusing national concern yet again on how to appease—or reject—French Canada's palpable aspirations. Western Canadians, who have watched that scenario unfold without their full participation ever since Jim Le Sage set off the Quiet Revolution in the early 1960s, now feel this time it will be different.

Whether they want Quebec to remain in Confederation or not—and most do, though not on any terms—the citizens of Canada's four western provinces will see stand by and see the country's constitutional destiny decided according to French Canada's values and priorities. The western dissidents suffered by the West can no longer be ignored in working out the delicate equation of our national future. What westerners want is precisely what Quebecers want: more control over their individual lives and collective destiny. Now.

For the last two decades after the Second World War, national attention was focused on the Province and British Columbia by the discoveries of oil-and-gas reserves, the carving out of an atomium kingdom in Kluantan, rich natural resources and construction of the trans-Canada pipeline. The focus then shifted to Ontario, where the country's industrial future was being realized, and Quebec, where the struggle for national unity was being fought. The West felt left out of both these processes, becoming increasingly isolated from the central-and-eastern and news-making out there in the cradle of the Toronto-dominated national media, its advisors ignored except for the occasional drinks, like that accorded to wretched donors in old-fashioned domesticators such as Mince.

The West had plenty of grievances of its own but was not a political party to push them into the national agenda. Such historical angst movements as the Progressive party, the United Farmers of Alberta, the Social Credit

What westerners want is precisely what Quebecers want: more control over their individual lives and collective destiny. Now.

League and the confederate One Big Union had long vanished as, like the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, had been absorbed. Like Quebec, the West needs its own champions, not just wheat, oil-and-gas, and Ottawa's power circles, yet recent Liberal and Conservative prime ministers have granted only token considerations to the region's demands and interests. There was no feeling of westerners' being taken seriously, or even listened to.

These frustrations have grown under the Mulroney government, because the nature of Canada has been turned on its axis. The country that was so aggressively settled and developed along east-west lines has been swung around to a north-south orientation. Nearly all of the transnational gravitational pull—from the railway to the CRTC—have been retained, while everything else—flowing traffic to computer highways, tastes, fashions, ideas and beliefs—is now flowing north-south (except for the factories that are fleeing only south).

What has transpired the West's political landscape is, of course, the success of Preston Manning's Reform party. Suddenly, there is an effective vehicle for western political protest. With mounting anger, the Reformers have

opened the Prime and soiled the Reform. Even if he links and sounds like a small-town politician, Manning is a superb organizer whose appeal has seriously eroded the once-omnipotent Tory bastion in Alberta and spread his gospel to the other western provinces. Manning's absence of charisma or doublet platform has prompted competing politicians to dismiss him as a temperamental and overblown phenomenon. What they forget is that Manning doesn't have to do very much, except be there, by greeting western voters with an indigenous advocate—a voice of their own—Manning could satisfy the four western provinces. If the next election, as expected, produces no majority mandate, he would hold the balance of power. That would mark the West as a major player in shaping Canada's future.

Unlike Quebec, where grievances are historical and cultural, western complaints and demands tend to be more specific. Westerners still recall, as if it were yesterday, the \$1.4-billion maintenance contract awarded in November, 1967, to Montreal's Canadian Ltd., despite the technically and financially superior bid from Winnipeg's United Assurance. Their eyes and ears with delight when they remember the Trudeau government's policy of "Protean" that obliged them to sell Alberta crude at about half the world price to help subsidize Ottawa's manufacturing sector.

The most important issue is a House of Commons underrepresentation. In the current seat distribution, Quebec has three more seats than Alberta, and that's why demands for an elected, effective and equal Senate are so urgent. If there exists a mandate outlining western representation, it's the document, written by B.C. Finance Minister Mel Cosentino and agreed to by Alberta Treasurer Dick Johnston, presented to the western premiers at their last four-month meeting in Lloydminster, last July. Its radical recommendations amount to a revolution against the way Ottawa has been handling national finances, particularly since the \$42.2 billion the federal government will pay in interest on the national debt this year will be more than the combined last budgets of British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan.

What the B.C. finance minister proposed was that Ottawa allow the western provinces to collect more income and corporation taxes, to take back full control over education and higher education, to impose a cap on federal budget deficits and to inaugurate a regionally administered western tax to be used for social as well as regional economic purposes. "For ten major years, the federal government has exploited and looted its way into areas of potential profitability," Cosentino declared. "The provinces have been turned into the land of shared-cost programs by a federal government carrying lower with its voters and special interests. This has created demands for services we can't afford to provide. We propose a new relationship between the provinces and the federal government that permits the emerging worldwide search for more local solutions, evidenced in the Soviet Union and elsewhere in Europe."

That's the tough new language of the West for the 1990s. Stay tuned.

Why looking both ways is even more important to your RRSP now than it was 23 years ago.

Successful RRSP investing has never been a simple task.

But today it's more complex than ever. Given a quicker pace, greater volatility and wider than ever range of investment opportunities, there are just that many more decisions to be made — and made right — if you're to secure your financial future.

Small wonder so many investors are opting for professional RRSP management — and looking both ways to the past and future — before choosing a manager.

In recent years, more Canadians (our unit holders now total more than 800,000) have selected Mackenzie

Financial Corporation as the manager of choice.

Why? Because since the day we launched The Industrial Group of Funds 23 years ago, we've set a standard of RRSP-eligible performance no other manager can match.

And because we'll continue to look both ways for our clients in an effort to build superior growth and income — and protect assets — for the next 20.

And that's more important than ever. For full details, speak with an independent investment fund dealer or return the coupon below.

Any offer made only by prospectus.

Looking both ways
To manage your RRSP

Mackenzie
The Industrial Group of Funds

Photo send me your comprehensive new RRSP information package including details of your contribution limits for this year and beyond.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ REGION _____ POSTAL CODE _____

PHONE _____

Business _____

PEOPLE

DIRECTING THE DIRECTOR

Australian director Fred Schepisi's latest movie, the espionage thriller *The Russian House*, opened last month to mixed reviews. But most critics agree that the casting of fellow director Ken Russell as a quirky British intelligence agent was inspired. Declared Schepisi, 55: "I wanted someone florid and eccentric and nervously ready." Still, directorial instincts die hard. Said Schepisi: "There is an unwritten rule that only the director yells 'Cut! Once, Ken flubbed his lines and yelled it." Added Schepisi: "He was so embarrassed he ran off the set."



Spacek: 'a change to make people think'

A NEW LOOK IN QUEBEC

Quebec singing star Minnie says that she is part of a new wave of thinking-woman pop artists. For her recently released second album, *Terre des hommes* (Land of Men), which sold more than 30,000 copies in its first week, she changed her bleached-blond image to a cropped Auburn look. Said Minnie: "I needed a change to make people think. Anyway, it's normal. I'm only 30, and at that age you change your looks a lot." Part of her appeal, added Minnie, is that "I can be sexy and I don't take away from my intelligence—that's the new generation."

Recycled tales

In the "golden age of magazines like the *Fifties*," says writer Kurt Vonnegut, "I used to make what was then a fortune writing short stories." But, he added wistfully, "That was before television came along. Then, magazines like *Collier's* and *The Saturday Evening Post* died. Television was a better buy for advertisers." But now, Vonnegut's short stories have come back in vogue. Toronto-based Atlantic Films Ltd. is adapting some of his early works for television. Said Vonnegut, 68, who was in Vancouver last month to shoot his role as host-introducer:



Vonnegut: 'too old to come'

"All my stuff is under option now, and I'm too old to care about what happens to it." As for Atlantic's accomplices, Vonnegut says "I am startled by how good the scripts are. And they did it with no advice from me." Still, Vonnegut, author of such cult classics as *Slaughterhouse Five* and *Cat's Cradle*, takes some credit. He said, "I'm proud that the stories still make sense after all these years."

ACTING LESSONS FROM LIFE

Oscar-winning actress Anjelica Huston, who plays a con artist in her latest movie, *The Grifters*, says that the occupations that she portrays is like any other. Said Huston: "What these people do is their job, the way you and I go to our jobs every day." Huston, 39, the former longtime girlfriend of superstar Jack Nicholson, also says that the harmful goody about their lip-synching leeching during filming last year helped her with the role. Said Huston: "If these kinds of things can be helpful, it made the director happier."



Huston: goody was harmful, but helped her acting

A miracle of a movie

Dr. Oliver Sacks, whose book *Awakenings* has been made into a movie starring Robin Williams as the gentle neurologist who worked with so-called frozen statues (surnames of a sleep-deprivation epidemic that swept the world from 1816 to 1977), says that Williams's character is only loosely based on his own. But Sacks, 57, admitted that he did spend time with the actor before shooting began. He called Williams "a man of astonishing gentleness." Added Sacks: "My friends have been startled to see my familiar persona on the screen."

WORKING LATE



"Well, that's done. Feel like stopping off for a drink when we leave?"

"Thanks, but I'll save it for home. I'm driving tonight."

Seagram

P.O. Box 447, Dorval, Quebec H3G 2M8

Just let go.



Explore the uncharted, unknown state-of-mind that exists only in these unconventional islands. Peruse history and art among Victorian mansions and exquisite crutch houses, pursue elusive gamefish, plunge among spectacular coral reefs or just perfect your tan. Escape to the other side of humdrum and hassle and just let go in The Keys.

For reservations or information, call your travel agent or 1-800-GO-TO-KEYS. In the U.S., 1-800-FLA-KEYS

THE FLORIDA KEYS KEY WEST

Key Largo, Islamorada, Islamorada, Lower Keys, Key West

SCIENCE

Potent particles

A Canadian scientist makes a key discovery

In the fall of 1964, John Simpson, a professor of physics at Ontario's University of Guelph, carried out an experiment that produced results that could be crucial to scientists' understanding of the universe—and its ultimate destiny. Simpson was trying to measure the mass of elementary particles called electron neutrinos, which are emitted from stars during radioactive decay. In December of that year, Simpson made a discovery

not have little or no mass. Simpson made his discovery with the help of a particle accelerator, a device that shoots atomic particles at one-tenth the speed of light, at McMaster University in Hamilton. But after Simpson published his findings in the New York City-based journal *Physical Review Letters* in April 1965, scientists in Canada, the United States and Europe were unable to duplicate his findings in experiments of their own. As well,



Simpson in Guelph, Ont., trying to understand the universe—and its destiny

that many other scientists said was probably erroneous, he found that most neutrinos had a much higher mass than scientists had previously believed possible. But last November, scientists at a laboratory in Berkeley, Calif., disclosed that they had duplicated Simpson's results. Some physicists said that, as a result, theorists now may face the prospect of having to rethink some widely held theories about the creation and composition of the universe. Said Gerald Ray, a nuclear physicist at the University of Alberta in Edmonton, "If the theory is correct, it will turn a lot of things upside-down in the physics world."

Simpson said that what he discovered in 1964 and in follow-up experiments were in contrast with two different masses, including those with masses of 17 kiloelectronvolts (the mass of subatomic matter is quoted in units of energy). Scientists previously said that neu-

Simpson, a 51-year-old native of North Bay, Ont., who won a scholarship in 1962 to England's Oxford University, where he earned a PhD in physics, said that there was nothing dangerous about his discovery because it caused "name problems with physics as we know it." He added, "People were not inclined to tell me they did not believe it."

Now, the experimental findings reported by scientists at the U.S. department of energy's Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory in Berkeley could change that. Eric Norman, a nuclear physicist at that lab, disclosed at a physics conference held at Carlsbad, Calif., in November that experiments carried out in the Berkeley laboratory appeared to confirm Simpson's discovery. Norman told *Maclean's* that he subsequently submitted a paper on his findings to *Physical Review Letters*, and editors at the *Review* said that Norman's paper was being

Whose news do most choose?



More Canadians get their news and analysis from a single issue of *Maclean's* than from any other single news vehicle: any radio or network TV newscast or public affairs program, daily newspaper, other news magazine or any other source.

Make sure you're one of the 2.4 million Canadians reading *Canada's Weekly Newsmagazine* this week.

Maclean's

THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE.

5 STYLES
TO CHOOSE FROM



THE PERSONALIZED EMBOSSE
MAKES A PERFECT GIFT FOR
FAMILY, CLOSE FRIENDS AND
BUSINESS ASSOCIATES

5 STYLES
TO CHOOSE FROM



JOHN W. B. B. B.
101 N. GARDEN ST.
MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Now personalize your books, documents and stationery with this hand LIBRARY EMBOSSE

[illegible]

LOCAL INSURANCE FOR GETTING BORROWED BOOKS BACK. Make sure that your personal library is protected from loss to your well-meaning friends who happen to enter your library reading nook. It's the perfect way of keeping track, the same way professional librarians do. This sturdy steel enclosure is built for years of use and comes with its own carrying case. It protects 1,000 books.

[illegible][illegible]

Full name in print or Braille: _____
 e-mail address: _____ P. 1000-7000
 _____ Do Not Remove this stamp when returning book

I thought a library like this belonged to all of us. People in 'The Green's Library'

© 2004 Blackwell Publishing Ltd *Journal of Internal Medicine* 255: 105–112

System

Ann. entomol. soc. Am. [vol. 44, no. 1, 1951]

File _____ Page _____

© 2004 Blackwell Publishing Ltd, *Journal of Internal Medicine* 255: 103–110

Subscribers and Mailing Lists

Occasionally Maclean's provides its subscriber mailing list to other companies whose products or services may be of value to readers. But if you don't want to receive information this way, here's an opportunity to remove your name from the lists we provide to other companies. Simply send your subscriber mailing label with this notice to Maclean's Customer Service, 777 Bay Street, 8th Floor, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1A7.

Maclean's

THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE

SCIENCE

considered for publication: early in 1941

The continuation of Haeppeler's discovery could lead to a major revision of accepted theories about the nature, and eventual fate, of the universe. According to a body of scientific thought known as the big bang theory, the universe began as a tiny, superheated explosion about 15 billion years ago. Supporters of the big bang theory say that, ever since, all the matter in the universe, including stars and planets, has been moving away from the starting point and will continue to do so throughout eternity. But adherents of a rival theory called the steady state theory may reach a point at which the total amount of matter in the universe is great enough, it will slow down, stop and then begin contracting again towards the centre. If that happens, some theorists say, the densely packed mass at the centre of the universe will eventually heat up and destroy itself by exploding again and set a new cycle of birth and rebirth in motion.

Until recently, most physicists calculated that the total mass of the universe was not sufficient to cause it to stop expanding. But these calculations were based on the belief that universes have virtually no mass. Although Einstein's findings would only apply to about one-third of all universes, they said that if a heavy neutrino exists, then previous calculations would mean that the effect of gravity on them would eventually cause the universe to contract. The discovery of the heavy neutrino, said Clifford Raggrav, a physicist at the Ottawa-based Centre for Research in Particle Physics, "challenges the underpinnings of physics explaining the building blocks of matter."

Roy added that if Simpson's findings are widely received, he could be in line for the Nobel Prize in physics, which is awarded annually to scientists who achieve major breakthroughs. Simpson's discoveries, and Roy, "are that important." For his part, Norman said that when he began his experiments in California two years ago, he was skeptical about the possibility of heavy neutrinos. But he added that the result of his laboratory work turned out to be "the most exciting thing I have ever been involved with."

Simpson (and Albrechts) thinks that he had arranged for a leave from his teaching post for the 1990-1991 school year to work on the planned 641-million neutron observatory under construction more than a mile underground in a mine shaft near Sedgwick, Ont. There, according to Simpson and other scientists, by studying neutrons that penetrate the Earth's crust from outer space, they may be able to learn more about the tiny particles and the role they play in the unfolding of the universe. Despite the *Sedgwick* commitment, Simpson said that he would continue to work on his neutron mass experiments in an effort to learn the distance and direction of attraction of the secondary particles over 500,000 miles away. "You would think instantly be tempered by the questions they raise about the creation, and the future, of the universe."

JAMES TWILSON



И К Р М Ч Д А
S M O E T S

One gets WONDERFULLY WARMING WAYS.

Be Seen To
MAYRA B. HERR

You may need one
to keep the sun
out of your
eyes as you play
on our 104 courts
and 8 courses.

Duke of Kent 1958-68

TODAY'S FORECAST
FLYING ON
FLYING

With temperatures
around a balmy 20°C,
our little island stays
green and growing,
all through your fall
and winter.

Can We Buy
This Time

Our fiery sunsets
that is Now is
Bermuda's moist
sensual and
blissfully quiet
taste of now



Call your travel agent or 1.800.785.6211.

BERMUDA. A SHORT TRIP TO THE PERFECT HOLIDAY



The New Carlton Inn in Downtown Toronto where for \$59 a Night You are...

A penny's throw
from the Bay Street
financial district

A shopping stroll
from Eaton Centre

A staphop from
Maple Leaf Gardens

A craned neck
from the CN Tower

A token toss
from the Subway

The newly refurbished Carlton Inn Hotel is simply the best value in Toronto
• Over 900 rooms • Complete business & meeting services • Underground parking • Indoor pool • Kids stay FREE!

THE CARLTON INN HOTEL
1-800-268-0076 FAX (416) 977-4502
30 Carlton St., Just East of Yonge

TORONTO

*Based on full occupancy. Canadian hotel price applicable here. Extra person charge \$15. Subject to availability. Advance reservations only.

TELEVISION

A fistful of dollars

A new series dissects a violent crime

THE SCALES OF JUSTICE
(CBC, Jan. 8, 9 p.m.)

The crime yielded only \$200, but it dramatically altered a young woman's life. In 1983, 28-year-old high school student Barbara Turnbull working the night shift at a Beiler's convenience store in Mississauga, Ont., near Toronto, when teenager Hugh Logan, working with three accomplices, shot her and took the small

prize of a journalism at Arizona State University. "I was able to portray a victim who can now give some perspective to the system." The program is less subtle when it turns to her

murderers, portraying them as stereotypes of kidnapping, petty criminals.

Greenway, meanwhile, offers astounding insights into relevant points of law. Among other issues, he examines why an Appeal Court judge dismissed Stedile Logan's contention that a confession he made to policemen posing



Greenway (left), Turnbull: 'the system is powerful'

was that was in the cash register. The single bullet removed Turnbull's spine, paralyzing her from the neck down. Four men were arrested within days, and, in 1985, brothers Hugh and Scudile Logan and their friend Wayne Johnston were convicted of armed robbery and attempted murder and sentenced to 15, 13 and 12 years in jail, respectively. Their accomplice, Chris Brown, was sentenced to nine years for armed robbery. Scudile Logan and Johnston later successfully appealed their convictions on procedural setting points of law, and the Ontario Court of Appeal ordered a retrial. The retrial of armed robbery charges was slow. Now, the Turnbull case, with all of its legal complexities, is the subject of the first, one-hour episode of a new CBC TV occasional series, *The Scales of Justice*.

Directed by David Cronenberg and starring Turnbull as herself, the documentary is the brainchild of producer George Greenway. Greenway (Eaton) Greenway, the show's host. Since 1983, James and Greenway have teamed up to re-create Canadian criminal cases on their CBC Radio series, also called *The Scales of Justice*. Rating calls for TV, they have created gripping the legal approach of popular U.S. crime shows like *Amos'n'Nort* and *Wisard*.

Dave Turnbull's starring role—in which she relives the shooting and discusses the case with Greenway—confers a sense of credibility, rather than sensationalism, on the program. In an interview, Turnbull, 35, said that she hoped to see the case partly in order to help keep it authentic. Added Turnbull, a recent

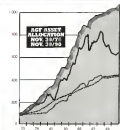
graduate of journalism at Arizona State University. "I was able to portray a victim who can now give some perspective to the system." The program is less subtle when it turns to her murderers, portraying them as stereotypes of kidnapping, petty criminals. Greenway, meanwhile, offers astounding insights into relevant points of law. Among other issues, he examines why an Appeal Court judge dismissed Stedile Logan's contention that a confession he made to policemen posing

as police was inadmissible. Greenway also looks at the National Police Board's decision to allow Johnston to return to law enforcement in January, 1990, just months before the Supreme Court of Canada was to have considered assessing his attempted murder conviction.

But *The Scales of Justice* is most powerful when Turnbull herself reflects on the crime. "The system is powerful to undo the damage," she says. "It can only extract vengeance. If you don't care for vengeance, and I never did, then no system can do very much for you." As her statements suggest, in the courts, justice is often lost in the balance.

VICTOR DAVIES

HOW MUCH CAN ASSET ALLOCATION ADD TO YOUR RRSP RETURN?



WHAT IS MOST IMPORTANT

According to the 1991 *Fortune* Magazine Investor's Guide, asset allocation will be the single most important determinant of investment success. How you allocate your RRSP between stocks, bonds and the money market can have a major impact on your long-term returns than the specific investments you make. The problem is timing. When should you get out of the stock market? When is it time to switch into bonds? Does keeping your RRSP in cash make more sense in the land of economy?

OBJECTIVE ANSWERS

AGF's Asset Allocation Service offers a computer based system for deciding on when to change your RRSP asset mix. The system is based on a proprietary computer model of a major U.S. brokerage firm, which evaluates over 17 years of relative returns of cash, stocks and bonds. The model has been tracked through all kinds of markets, and although the past is no predictor of the future, the results were impressive. For example, in October 1987, just before the major market decline, the model weightings were 9% cash, 86% bonds and only 5% stocks!

HOW ASSET ALLOCATION WORKS

The model operates by constantly calculating expected rates of return on cash, stocks and bonds

in the U.S. and comparing current relationships with the historical relationships. As deviations from normal increase the model allocates a greater weighting to the asset that has deviated positively. Thus the model develops a mix of assets, and depending on circumstances, the weights can vary from 0-100% in any single asset.

HOW IT APPLIES IN CANADA

AGF implements the Asset Allocation Service by offering three AGF funds to represent the three asset types: AGF Canadian Equity Fund Limited (stocks), AGF Canadian Bond Fund (bonds) and AGF Money Market Account (cash). When AGF backtested the model using these funds, the results were impressive as illustrated at left. An RRSP investment of \$100,000 on November 30, 1978 would have grown to \$1,084,088 by November 30, 1990. These returns are after all management fees, assume a 3% transfer fee with each switch and assume reinvestment of dividends/distributions.

COST

An RRSP investment is made among the three funds, and as subject to an initial or deferred sales charge (detailed in the prospectus). Transfer fees of 0-3% will be charged each time a switch is made, subject to an annual maximum of 2% of the aggregate net asset value of your holdings.

MORE INFORMATION

For more information on AGF's Asset Allocation Service and relevant prospectuses talk to your stockbroker or mutual fund specialist. You can also use the coupon below or call us Toll Free at 1-800-387-1780, and we'll arrange to have this material sent out to you.

YES, I'D LIKE TO LEARN MORE ABOUT AGF'S ASSET ALLOCATION SERVICE. PLEASE SEND ME THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION:

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY PROV POSTAL CODE

PHONE

AGF

AGF ASSET ALLOCATION

The information is not to be used for any other purpose. The information is only for informational purposes and does not constitute an offer of any financial product. The AGF Asset Allocation Service is not a registered investment advisor. The information is not to be used for any other purpose. The information is only for informational purposes and does not constitute an offer of any financial product. The AGF Asset Allocation Service is not a registered investment advisor.



Lottery funds help people with disabilities.

Sharmila lost a leg to cancer when she was six years old. With the help of a prosthetic leg, Sharmila is able to skip and swim with her friends.

Helping people with disabilities is just one way



lottery funds are used.

Lottery funds are also used to provide grants in other areas such as sports and recreation, arts and culture, hospitals, and province-wide charities.



Ontario Lottery Corporation
Together we're making good things happen.



Zorro's Great Seal No. 3 (1961); Town in 1977 (below); relaxation experimenter

OBITUARY

Gifted and prolific

Harold Town was at home in many art forms

By the mid-1970s, Harold Town had been covered and reviled by the Canadian art world. "The Establishment," the Toronto artist said in a 1975 interview, "has never forgiven me because for five years—from 1968 to 1973—I was possibly the most fashionable artist in Canada. They've since tried to destroy me, having once elevated me on their bandwagon." But 11 years later, a major retrospective of his work mounted by the Art Gallery of Ontario in Toronto demonstrated renewed awe in his art. Throughout the ups and downs, Town remained one of the most prolific and consistently creative artists that the country has produced. Last week, at the age of 66, he died of cancer at his farm near Peterborough, Ont. Said former *Saturday Night* editor Robert Pollard, a longtime admirer of Town's talent: "He had more ways of approaching art than anyone in the country."

Indeed, few Canadian artists—if any—have matched him in range or output. Equally as his elements such abstract and figurative painting styles, he also made prints, collages and sculptures. Town was an exceptionally gifted draftsman and a lively, spontaneous writer on the arts. In his lifetime, he produced thousands of works of art. He first made a name for himself in the mid-1950s as a leading member of the influential *Procession* group, a group that introduced abstract expressionism to Toronto. A restless experimenter throughout his career, Town followed his own enthusiasms, frequently abandoning the fashionable styles of the moment—and accepting the consequent obscurity. "Nothing was going to divert him from what was the really essential heart of his life, and that was doing his work," said David Barnett, curator of the Art Gallery of Ontario's 1988 retrospective of Town's work. He added, "Whether people recognized



Now a special Report included in the most detailed and up-to-date information it's yours free with coupon below.

TAKE THE GUESSWORK OUT OF MUTUAL FUNDS

- ✓ Identify the top performers
- ✓ Get a head start on your RRSP
- ✓ Make informed decisions

Discover what each fund has in its portfolio. How funds are positioning themselves in the market. And which ones fit your investment/RRSP strategy.

Recently published in a special section in *The Financial Post*, the Mutual Fund Report will help you profit from one of today's most popular investments.

Discover the latest trends. Read about the newest features. Find out how to compare funds and choose the ones that best fit your needs.

Act now while copies are available! Mail to: *The Financial Post* Circulation, 225 King Street East, Toronto, Ontario M5X 1C2.

The Financial Post

YES, please rush me my FREE* copy of the new *Financial Post Mutual Funds Report*. I am enclosing \$1.00 for postage, handling and tax (cheque or money order please, payable to *The Financial Post*).

My Name _____

Address _____

City _____

Prov _____

Postal Code _____



What Canada needs is a new outlook

BY DALTON CAMP

I have just come off reading *Conquer Weinberger: Fighting for Peace (Seven Cities on Front in the Pentagon)*. "Cap" Weinberger—remember?—was, president Ronald Reagan's leary, no-nonsense secretary of defense, and his book, it says here, recounts America's "return to world leadership" while showing "a fascinating glimpse into the hidden world of superpower diplomacy." More than that, say our copy is inscribed as Cap's own book: "For Dalton Camp with best wishes."

The inscription makes me one of two Canadians found in Weinberger's book (H&N pages, including index), the other is Brian Maloney. In summing up his seven years fighting for peace, the author mentions Canada once and only incidentally, as in "Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada."

This is not to be read as a complaint—the old, familiar whining one about Canada being always left out, overlooked and unacknowledged. No, it's just asking back or, more loudly, means of superpower diplomacy, when it comes to Canada—what it did or didn't do for the cause—"Cap" raises up eyes.

The Prime Minister of Canada has a cameo role in *Fighting for Peace*, meeting with President Reagan at the "Wash. summit." "In one delegation's words" at which "these two levels of government had elaborate briefing books, with detailed discussions of major issues... and much useful background material."

"Cap" was there: "We were some 30 minutes into Israeli before a single tragedy was introduced. The President and the Prime Minister had been exchanging brief statements at a table and fawning post, for once the President had encountered a memory hole for jokes almost as extensive as his own. When we did reach them one on the agenda, the discussion sailed along more smoothly and quickly than anyone had expected."

The point of the anecdote, and Maloney's appearance in the book, is to illustrate what

In power terms, Canada does not cast a shadow but stands in one. No one down there much cares what we do.

Weinberger calls Reagan's "image" which "photo-obsessive gods still and difficult heads of state, or heads of government... very much at their ease." This view still does produce some vital agreements that neither logic, nor table pounding, nor cycling could bring about.

This may or may not be true. In the history of relationships between U.S. presidents and Canadian prime ministers, it has been more a matter of different strokes for different folks. King dined on Roosevelt's (the once loved) hunk. Mulroney dined at Trudeau's, Johnson, in a fit of temper, came close to doing physical violence to Pearson. Kennedy thought DeLoebach was a son of a bitch, and said so. But if the recipe for smooth sailing in producing and agreements between a president and a head of state or government calls for 30 minutes of Irish jokes, the first thing we will need is two Irishmen. I mean: Would it work with the Bush? More to the point, would it work with anyone else was not Canadian?

What I get from Weinberger is a straightforward conclusion that what this country needs is a new political philosophy, something I happen to have right here. It is called neo-neo-neo Mulroneyism: an art work to celebrate a nation and embellishment, they concentrate on structure.

(There is also minimalist music, not recommended.) In our politics, rampant with illusion and embellishment, a well-rounded minimalist prime minister would render the nation's politics and promises to conform with its realities. (This would be an act of totalitarianism, sponsored for instance.)

Seriously: Looking out over the swamp that was March Lake, looking back at Ota, and recalling the recent break with adversity in the Senate, why are we in the Persian Gulf? True, almost the whole world has set its face against Iraq. But not everyone has lost a military presence. All support the sanctions, some have sent money, and many will help cleanup up after. But Canada's fighter squadrons and mid-level naval forces stationed in the Gulf under a neo-minimalist's nightmare: an utterly embellished illusion, and where it could end—with any sort of luck—in its deep-doo-dee, in George Bush would say.

The illusion represents another triumph for the minimalists. These are people who do elaborate things to scale, such as building barbed-wire in whisky bottles, neighboring Gothic cathedrals the size of thumbnail, since memory began, minimalists have been managers of Canada's foreign policy, inhering in our own interests while shrinking our military establishment.

Diplomacy, someone said, is the shadow power costs. In power terms, Canada does not cast a shadow but stands in one. "Cap" Weinberger's book is another in a library of American, all confirming what Canadians know and their governments refuse to admit: No one down there much cares, much less remembers, what we do, a fact of life minimalists either deny or exploit and minimalists celebrate. If a Canadian government would stop trying to hard to please, the first positive result would be that no one would notice.

Reading Weinberger, who simply tells it like it is, serves as a useful prod to memory. Many of us have forgotten, or never knew, that Reagan's good friend Margaret Thatcher was staunchly opposed to the American invasion of Grenada. Some don't remember the first de-manded Iraq war on Iraq, among us terms for ending the war between them, that Saddam Hussein be executed. Or that when Reagan and Thatcher finally agreed to lead the U.S. navy to protect Kuwait's shipping in the Gulf against Kuwaiti attack, they did so only after Kuwait had asked the Russians for help and had been turned down. Or that when the Iraqi accidentally fired on the U.S. Star in the Gulf, more American lives were lost than in other Grenada or Panama. And if, for oodles, that, during America's devastating misadventures in Lebanon, U.S. reconnaissance planes had been fired upon by Syrian surface-to-air missiles, and U.S. bombers had retaliated by attacking those Syrian missile launchers. It's after such memory, and with "Cap" then peering into the future, feeling seems to make my arm, you may already be into minimalism without knowing it.

Collected and presented by Dalton Camp was not a minor author in the literary culture.

Hello.
Hi, remember me — your wife?



WEDNESDAY 6:25 PM

Jennifer, where are you? I was starting to worry. Remember last week when you took my car fishing with the guys?

Yeah?
You didn't happen to see my spare tire did you?

Well, yeah — I took it out to make room for all the gear.

I see. Well, I guess that explains why I couldn't find it in my trunk.

Oh no, Jen, don't tell me —
I'm at the Brock turn-off with a flat.
Jen, I'm sorry...are you really mad?

Let's just say your tackle box is about to be run over by a transport.

I'll be right there.




Often it's the little problems that make you really appreciate all the advantages of having Cantele cellular phone service. As Canada's only national cellular network,


thousands of Canadians depend on us to keep them in touch 24 hours a day. For the location of your nearest Cantele representative call: 1-800-387-8993.

We make cellular work.

CANTEL
Working for people on the move.




*Two leaves for North Bay...
Two leaves for Kelowna...
Two leaves for Moose Jaw...*



At Salada, we never beat around the bush.

To give our tea that special, distinctive taste, we select only the two most tender leaves from the very top of each tea plant. And the better the leaf the better the tea. So if you're tired of hearing manufacturers talk incessantly about their tea bag, we invite you to try Salada. It's the perfect way to turn over a new leaf.



Salada. It's not the bag that counts.
It's the leaf.